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**THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION
OF GIRLS AND WOMEN**



THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

**NEW YORK • BOSTON • CHICAGO • DALLAS
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TORONTO

THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN

BY

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AND

THE MEANS AND METHODS OF
AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION

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1918

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THE VOCATIONAL EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

- I. A neglected subject.
- II. Homemaking women's greatest industry.
- III. Talent for homemaking.
- IV. Women must work.
- V. Conclusion.

A neglected subject. The social, economic, and educational demands of the twentieth century have forced into the realm of practical politics many questions that were previously considered as the fantastic dreams of doctrinaires, theorists, and visionaries. Among such questions two stand out prominently: the position of women and the problem of industrial education. At first sight there seems to be no intimate relationship between these two questions, but on closer examination the connection becomes more apparent, and they really merge into one problem, which may be termed the "woman in industry."

Until recent years the question of women in industry outside the home was not considered worthy of discussion, and any discussion that did take place was directed towards keeping women out of industry rather than towards helping them to work satisfactorily in the occupations in which they were engaged.

One striking feature of the mass of educational literature that has been issued from the press during the last twenty years is the attention that has been given to the question of industrial education. Though its methods are still perhaps chaotic and in a state of flux, its necessity is no longer seriously questioned. In studying this literature one is impressed by the fact that remarkably little attention has been paid to the industrial education of girls and women. One can read thousands of pages without finding a single specific reference to the needs and requirements of the girl. Even in one of the most recent books the following passage occurs: "The discussion deals largely with the work that has been developed for boys. It is believed, however, that the principles apply also to the field of girls' work and it is hoped that this somewhat neglected side may receive some stimulus from this presentation."¹

The basic principles which apply to the industrial training of boys and men certainly apply to some extent to the training of girls and women, but the points at which their training should be differentiated are so many as to make the training of girls almost a separate problem.

In a recent bulletin it is stated that "in the many reports published in the United States concerning industrial and commercial education in Germany, comparatively little space has been given to continuation schools for girls. This has been due to the relative unimportance of these schools industrially and commercially compared with the schools for boys."²

There are several reasons which make it advisable to study

¹ Leavitt and Brown, *Prevocational Education in the Public Schools*.

² "Problems of Vocational Education in Germany." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1915, No. 33.

the vocational education of girls and women as though it constituted a problem entirely different and distinct from that of the vocational education of boys and men.

The proportion of women entering industry is constantly growing, and this gives rise to special questions as to the effect of this increasing employment on the conditions of home life and particularly on the rearing of children. The condition of women wage-earners is in many respects less satisfactory than that of men.

Fewer skilled occupations are open to women, and they are entering the low-paid unskilled industries in larger numbers. Those who enter the industries from fourteen to eighteen years of age may marry before they reach the age of twenty-five, and with this possibility before them they look upon their employment as a temporary makeshift and therefore are not anxious to learn their trade properly. As a result of this they are able to command wages which average only about one half those that are paid to men. The legislatures of the various states have long agreed that special legislation is necessary for the protection of working women, and the Supreme Court of the United States has declared that woman's "physical nature and the evil effects of overwork upon her and her future children justify legislation to protect her from the greed as well as the passion of men."

The National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education in 1912 appointed a special secretary for the consideration of women's requirements in the direction of legislation and education. All these facts tend to prove that the vocational education of girls and women needs consideration apart from that of men.

Reasons for the neglect of the subject. *Education for girls considered unnecessary.* Until recent years extended

education for girls was considered neither necessary nor desirable. The gentlemen of the court of Charles II thought that women were educated enough "if they could spell out the recipes of pies and puddings the manufacture of which nature had intrusted to their tender mercies."¹ According to Rousseau women were specially constituted to please men, and their training should be devoted to this end: "To please men, to be useful to them, to make themselves loved and honored by them, to educate them when young, to care for them when grown old, to counsel them, to console them, and to make life agreeable and sweet to them, these are the duties of women at all times and what should be taught them from their infancy." And again he says, "A woman of culture is to be avoided like a pestilence, she is the plague of her husband, her children, her servants, her friends, everybody."²

As late as fifty years ago it was not considered necessary to give girls much education. All the training needed for the performance of their household duties could be secured in the home itself, for there were then many household trades carried on which have since found their way into the factories. The girl received thorough training for her life work and did not need specialization. Even as late as twenty years ago the rule for the future of the young girl was simple and bald in the extreme. She was directed to concentrate her attention first on getting married. If all her efforts failed to secure a husband, she tried school teaching, and if this in its turn failed, she could try work in another woman's kitchen.

¹ "Women in Public Life." *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1914.

² Darroch, Alexander, *Education and the New Utilitarianism*, quoted.

Sentiment against the industrial employment of women. Notwithstanding the historical fact that woman has always been in industry, there is a traditional feeling that she ought not to be so employed, and this has accounted for a great deal of the neglect in her training. We have surrounded our girls with an atmosphere of unreality, and allowed our conduct to be dictated by principles which do not square with present conditions. We seem to have cherished the idea that we could teach them a little household science, music, fancy work, and other accomplishments, and by the time they had absorbed this, they would be ready to settle down in homes of their own, carefully protected for the remainder of their lives from the confusion and worry caused by the rush of modern industry.

According to the latest census of the United States (1910) there were 8,075,772 women ten years of age and over, gainfully employed, representing 23.4 per cent of all the females of that age. This number does not include the women employed in their own homes. Each year many thousands of girls fourteen and fifteen years of age are entering occupations which are doing nothing to fit them for further usefulness. When we remember these facts, we recognize that we are confronted with a condition and not a theory. Accepting the fact that in the present social and economic condition of society, girls in large numbers are, and will continue to be, wage-earners, should not every effort be made to train them in such a way as to provide that their future usefulness will be increased rather than impaired?

The industrial life of women thought to be short. There is a widespread impression that the industrial life of women is short, and that it is only entered into as a temporary expedient until they marry. It is frequently stated that women

continue to be wage-earners for an average period of seven years only, and this statement has been accepted almost universally by advocates of industrial education. This assumption has influenced profoundly the character of all attempts to solve the problem. It will readily be seen that training girls who are to remain in industry for only seven years is a very different problem from training those who are to remain there for the whole of their working lives. Girls are unwilling to undertake long apprenticeship for a working life which they think will be short. Owing to this idea, the tendency is for young girls to enter upon unskilled work which brings them an immediate wage return but offers no opportunity for advancement.

Widely as this theory has been accepted there is now reason to question its truth. How the idea arose is not clear, but that it was based on any statistical evidence is very doubtful. The Division of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation has now presented some evidence on the other side. Seven different occupations were chosen, and an attempt made to discover the ages of all the women who were employed in them in cities of the United States of over 50,000 population. The occupations were those in which the number of women workers exceeded one for every thousand of the population. The number of women engaged in these pursuits was 857,743. This was just half of all the women engaged in gainful employments in these cities. The seven occupations were housekeeper, nursemaid, laundress, saleswoman, teacher, servant, and dressmaker. More than half of those engaged in each occupation were over the following ages: housekeepers forty, nursemaids thirty-six, laundresses thirty-four, saleswomen twenty-three, teachers thirty-two, dressmakers thirty-one, and servants thirty-seven.

While the ages at which these workers entered industry could not be ascertained, it is fairly safe to assume that those who were working at the age of forty, thirty, and in the majority of cases at twenty-five, had been so engaged for more than seven years. The percentage of women belonging to the different age groups is shown in the following table:

	10 TO 15 YEARS 11 MONTHS	16 TO 24 YEARS 11 MONTHS	25 TO 44 YEARS 11 MONTHS	45 TO 64 YEARS 11 MONTHS	65 YEARS
Housekeepers . .		15.7	44.6	32.9	6.8
Nursemaids . . .		23.1	49	23.7	4.2
Laundresses . . .	2.4	24.7	49.5	21	2.4
Saleswomen . . .	5.7	55.2	34.8	4.3	
Teachers		29.5	58	11.7	0.8
Dressmakers . . .	2.6	28.9	51.6	14.1	1.8
Servants	4.1	40.8	42.8	10.8	1.5

From the above investigation the conclusion is warranted that if we educate girls only for the duties of ultimate marriage, and not also for those of industrial life, we are doing them a demonstrably grievous wrong.

Girls must be trained for two vocations. The fact that girls must be trained for two vocations, — homemaking and industry, — and, owing to the seasonal character of their industrial work, should in some cases be trained for three, has somewhat complicated the problem and led to the postponement of attempts at its solution. Thus the education of the girl is a double problem. It must include training in two distinct vocations, neither of which can be considered sufficiently permanent to justify the exclusion of the other. Though the two vocations have some qualities in common, it cannot be said that training in one is adequate preparation for efficiency in the other.

The education of the boy as compared with that of the girl is a comparatively simple matter; for the boy, when he has once found himself, enters an industry to stay there as long as he is physically fit and industrially efficient. The girl, however, may marry and become a homemaker for the remainder of her life; or, she may be under the necessity of having to perform a double function, being compelled to support partly the home which she manages; or, again, she may have to return to industry after having been engaged for some years in homemaking. All considerations therefore point to the conclusion that a woman should be able to support herself outside the home, should the necessity arise for her doing so. This, of course, will be disputed, but the number of married women and widows in industry is too great to allow of any other conclusion.

Homemaking women's greatest industry. The greatest industry in which woman is engaged is housekeeping or homemaking. In the number of persons engaged, it is ahead of all other occupations. According to the thirteenth census (1910) there are in the United States about thirty-one million women over ten years of age. Of these about one and a half million are working in shops and factories, and five and a half million are employed in domestic service. Of the remaining twenty-four million no mention is made, since homemaking is not considered a "gainful occupation." Even when we make allowance for the woman who goes back into industry, and for the homemaker who is also a wage-earner, it remains true that homemaking is a trade for every woman, and the demand is universal.

The home is still "woman's sphere" and probably for most women always will be so. It must not be forgotten, however, that the home of to-day is very different from what

it was even twenty years ago; that it is destined to undergo still further changes, and that efforts to perpetuate it on its traditional basis will very largely fail. Too many still look upon the household arts as the "Cinderella" of the educational family. When a girl positively cannot make progress with ordinary school studies as traditionally taught, she is put into the "cookery class." The fact is the domestic industries are held in contempt by many women. This has gone so far as to attach a social stigma to domestic service.

Talent for homemaking. It has been thought until recently that there was no need to teach this industry, since every girl acquired the ability to engage in it by instinct, directly the necessity arose. "The ability to cook is something with which every girl is by tradition endowed. Theoretically she acquires this ability either by inheritance or by instinct. No number of poor cooks seem to offset the belief that skill in this trade will always come at the call of necessity. . . . There exists a well-defined prejudice against 'school-taught homemaking.' This, in part, is due to the same ignorance which once looked with suspicion upon the 'book farmer,' but it is also due to the failure of instructors in household science to tie up with home conditions and to produce some proofs of efficiency."¹

A mistaken idea prevails among many people that the ability to use a needle is also the natural endowment of every girl. If this is the case, why do we have so many entering our Normal Schools at eighteen or nineteen years of age, and so many grade teachers, who have to acknowledge that they are not able to teach sewing or to make the simplest kind of garment?

¹ "Cooking in the Vocation School." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1915, No. 1.

Notwithstanding the apparent popularity of household arts instruction throughout the various school systems it has had, for various reasons, very little influence on real home-making. At a meeting of the Cleveland Board of Education, February 28, 1887, the following statement was made: "We read in *Public Opinion* that a competent statistician has estimated that ignorant cooking and bad management in the provision of food waste \$500,000,000 annually for the people of the United States."¹ Though this statement was made more than thirty years ago there is reason to believe that there is still a great amount of waste which adequate instruction could prevent. In view of the large number of women engaged in this industry and of its vital importance to the national life, radical measures must be taken to bring about a different condition.

Women must work. Women are having a greater number of chances to work, but fewer opportunities to become really skilled workers. In many and diverse ways they are seeking to earn a living for themselves and often for others, either from choice or forced thereto by necessity. Women must work. It is not a time for us to stand aside and argue that woman's sphere is the home, even if that is an ideal to be held before us. The economic condition of numbers of females, particularly in the large industrial centers, is such that the daughters cannot remain at home.

In the older countries of the world the number of women exceeds the number of men, while on this continent the numbers are rapidly becoming equal. The following table shows the number of women to every thousand men in various countries:

¹ "Art and Industry," Part II. United States Bureau of Education.

United States . . .	943	Scotland . . .	1062.5
Denmark	1061	Hungary . . .	1019
Belgium	1017	Italy	1010
Holland	1021	Canada . . .	886
England	1067.6	Germany . . .	1026 ¹
Ireland	1003.8		

In some of the above countries the preponderance of women over men will be very largely increased as a consequence of the present disastrous war, and the functions of women will become more and more important the world over. Thus if we regard woman from the point of numbers alone, her importance warrants adequate attention being paid to her social, economic, and educational welfare.

The continent of Europe is already faced with an entirely new set of problems in regard to the education of girls. A large number of occupations hitherto considered to be the exclusive domain of men have been thrown open to women, and in many of these they have proved that they are at least as efficient as men, while in some they have proved superior. It may be contended that these occupations are temporary only, but the existence of economic necessity and the fact that women have proved their competency will render a number of these occupations a permanent avenue for the energies of women.

Conclusion. In conclusion two important questions are forced upon us: how can industry be so modified as to make it contribute to the healthy physical development of woman, and how can she best prepare herself for industrial occupations under the new conditions that will obtain? The first question must be answered very largely by legislation, trade unionism, and organization, and the second, by our educational authorities in coöperation with enlightened employers.

¹ *Canadian Year Book, 1911, Department of the Census, Ottawa.*

The whole subject is a wide one, and this treatment can only concern itself with the so-called non-professional occupations. Owing to the many points at which it touches our vocational life, it may be fairly considered as one of the most vital social, educational, and economic problems of the day. It naturally divides itself into two parts: first, the education of girls and women for the duties of the home and those occupations for which training for the home will provide more or less adequate preparation, such as the work of dietitians, caterers, lunch-room helpers, institutional managers, waitresses, etc.; and, second, education for industrial and commercial pursuits in general.

The following pages deal to some extent with the above problems.

PART I
EDUCATION FOR THE HOME

CHAPTER I

THE STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD ARTS INSTRUCTION

- I. Homemaking not considered a gainful occupation.
- II. Number of women engaged in homemaking.
- III. Definition of terms.
- IV. History of instruction in household arts.
- V. The present situation.
- VI. Changed conditions in the home.
- VII. A state program for education in the household arts.
- VIII. Encouragement of vocational education by federal governments.
- IX. Report of the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education.

Homemaking not considered a "gainful occupation." Homemaking enjoys the proud distinction of being the one prevailing industry that is considered by the census authorities of various countries as a non-revenue-producing occupation. English official returns go so far as to place married women among the "unoccupied," while the American authorities exclude homemaking and housekeeping from the list of gainful occupations.

The *Philadelphia North American* makes this interesting comment on the United States Census Report on occupations: "It is found that in ninety-three and a half per cent of American homes no servants are employed. Of the nearly seventeen million families in the United States, only one million can afford to keep servants. This is a conservative estimate, since some fortunate housewives employ two or more

servants. Probably where five well-to-do families are able to employ a servant, in ninety-five homes the mother does all the housework, yet under the law she is not classed among the workers, but swells the list of dependents.”¹

The reasons for this anomaly seem to be the absence of any standard by which the value of the housewife's labor can be estimated, and the fact that its returns do not come to her in a weekly pay envelope. As a matter of fact, except in that very limited class of homes where abundant service can be supplied out of a large income, the wives responsible for the management of the household often work harder and longer than the majority of the so-called wage-earners. Household labor will never be accorded the respect that is paid to the other industries until a proper and satisfactory wage scheme is devised for it. The girl who “stays at home” should have a definite allowance fixed. The housewife by her labor and management contributes to the family income just as surely as does the man who brings in his weekly pay envelope.

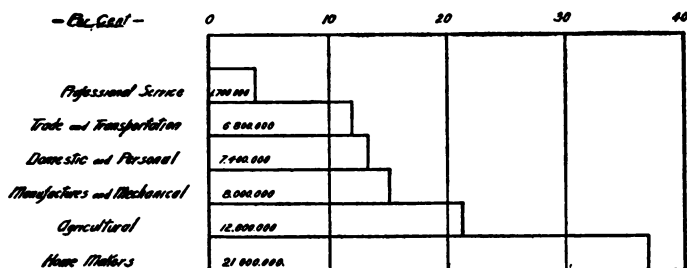
Number of women engaged in homemaking. According to the census of 1910 there are in the United States more than forty-four and a half million girls and women. About twenty-five million are twenty or more years of age. Of these twenty-five million eighty per cent are married, and we may fairly assume that as large a proportion of the remainder will marry. The chief occupation of these girls will be housekeeping, and it will be housekeeping on small means, since the average income of a family in the United States, with all its colossal wealth, is less than \$500 a year.²

¹ Quoted in *Journal of Home Economics*, August-September, 1915.

² National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, Bulletin, No. 18.

THE STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD ARTS INSTRUCTION 17

The following chart¹ shows the number of women in the United States engaged in the different industrial occupations, and indicates clearly the great preponderance of homemakers.



In addition to the twenty-one million who are listed here as homemakers, it must be remembered that the 7,400,000 who are included as performing domestic and personal service are largely engaged in home activities.

Definition of terms. At this stage it will be well to define our terms. In no subject of instruction has there existed greater confusion of terminology. The subject has received many names and no general agreement seems yet to exist. Owing to its adoption by the Lake Placid Conference on Home Economics and by its successor, the American Home Economics Association, the term "home economics" is very largely used. This conference, in 1904, adopted the following terms: "hand work" for elementary schools, "domestic science" for secondary schools, "economics" for normal and professional schools, "euthenics" (better living) for colleges and universities. With the exception of "home economics" these terms have not been adopted generally.

¹ Puffer, Adams J., *Vocational Guidance*.

The distinction formerly drawn between domestic science (cookery, sanitation, household management) and domestic art (decoration, dressmaking, millinery, sewing) is rapidly disappearing, and the term "household arts" seems to be coming largely into use, particularly to describe the work done in the public schools. This term is used in several of the recently enacted educational laws, and has also been adopted by the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. As these laws will largely influence and control this teaching in the future, and as the following pages deal mainly with work lower than college grade, the term "household arts" will be used as a comprehensive term to denote all branches of the subject.

History of instruction in household arts. Instruction in household arts has had a long and varied history. Almost from the beginning of any educational system for girls, various forms of ornamental needlework, such as samplers and embroidery, were taught as accomplishments, and they continued to be regarded as such for many years. George Eliot in *Felix Holt* speaks of Mrs. Transcome as "engaged in a little dainty embroidery — that soothing occupation of taking stitches to produce what neither she nor any one else wanted was then the resource of many a well-bred and unhappy woman."

Recognition and demonstration of its value. The recognition of the value of the household arts as subjects of school instruction was due almost entirely to private enterprise. Cooking and sewing were taught as early as 1668 to Indian girls by the Ursuline nuns at Quebec, but preparation for the duties of the household did not receive serious attention either in Europe or America till about 1870. In 1818 an address was presented to the New York Legislature by Mrs.

Emma Hart Willard petitioning for a state grant towards girls' education equal to that given for the education of boys. In this connection a curriculum was outlined to include "domestic instruction."

Mrs. Willard wrote: "It is believed that housewifery might be greatly improved by being taught not only in practice but in theory. There are right ways of performing its various operations, and there are reasons why these ways are right; and why may not rules be formed, their reasons collected, and the whole be digested into a system to guide the learners' practice?"¹

Before the educational authorities would admit the subject into the schools its purpose and worth had to be demonstrated, and cookery lessons were given to public school children by various philanthropic bodies. It should be noted that the avowed purpose of the introduction of this subject was utilitarian and philanthropic. Those who pressed for its inclusion in the school curriculum were impelled by a realization of the bad and wasteful home management then prevalent, to take steps which would lessen the evils to the community caused by the ignorance of housewives, particularly of the poorer classes. The children were gathered together by these benevolent organizations and instructed, first, in the elements of needlework, then in housewifery under the name of kitchen gardening, followed later by lessons in plain cookery.

Kitchen Gardening. The term "kitchen gardening" was generally used to describe the training of children in domestic work, and this training was largely in the form of play. Toy utensils were used, and the operation was con-

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 36.

ducted on a scale proportioned to the size of the utensil. The method was used with children five years old and upwards, but was almost entirely confined to private organizations and, perhaps unfortunately, has not been considered as of sufficient educational value to be adopted in the kindergartens of the public schools.

The method was introduced in 1877 by Miss Emily Huntington of New York. The kitchen garden may be called the kindergarten of household arts instruction and was described by its founder in 1901 as follows: "Kitchen garden is a system by which children are taught the many little duties, which, when properly performed, go to make a home comfortable, except the cooking of food. The system is a combination of songs, exercises, and plays, designed in a thoroughly practical way to train a child in simple household work. It is divided into six distinct parts or occupations, each taking a month to master. They comprehend the following details: kindling fires, waiting on the door, bed making, sweeping and dusting, completely arranging a room, with the manipulations of a broom, whisk broom, etc.; also all laundry processes from the preparation of the tubs to the polishing and folding; scrubbing; and laying a dinner table in the due order of courses. In connection with this a pricking lesson teaches in kindergarten style the parts of beef and mutton and how to cook and cut each. Last of all comes the mud pie play. Molding clay as a substitute for pastry and dough, the children knead bread, turn tiny rolls, cut out biscuits, and make pies. All the lessons are enlivened and emphasized with appropriate songs. Thus with the simple device of toy appliances for real domestic apparatus, the children acquire the order, precision, and neatness essential to household

service. The age of the children taught varies from six to sixteen.”¹

In one respect the kitchen garden method has a decided advantage over the household arts as ordinarily taught in the schools, and that is, it stresses general household duties. As will be shown later, the household arts have been largely restricted to cookery, or at most cookery and sewing, though they really include the following subjects in addition to the two mentioned: sewing, dressmaking, millinery, laundry work, housewifery, hygiene, sanitation, and the care of young children.

Teaching sewing. As far as the public schools are concerned the movement for the introduction of sewing probably started in Boston, where the girls are said to have spent time in sewing under their regular teachers as early as 1798. Permission was given for needlework in the primary schools in 1821, and in 1835 in the second and third classes in the writing school. Little was really done, however, until about 1865, when a seamstress and dress-maker were employed to teach an advanced class for half a day each week in the different schools. The materials for this work and the salaries of the teachers were provided by a private individual. In 1873 a teacher was employed to give her whole time, being placed on the same salary schedule as the regular teachers on the staff. In 1875 a special committee was appointed to supervise sewing in all the city schools, but the solicitor to the Board of Education reported that it was illegal to spend money for this purpose, and this expenditure had to be stopped. The work was not dropped, however, but was carried on for the

¹ Huntington, Emily, *How to teach the Kitchen-Garden or Object Lessons in Household Work*.

now in use have fully adapted themselves to those changed conditions. Methods in all school subjects tend to become stereotyped, and in many cases fail to adapt themselves to modern requirements. Until recently manual training afforded a good example of such ossification, and the household arts have suffered from the same cause. Old theories and traditions of woman's work, education, and sphere of influence do not square with the necessities of to-day. "Domestic economy needs saving from its friends; it must be kept close to home needs; already it has been sterilized and schoolmasterized to the loss of its earlier worth."

The demands made on the housekeeper by modern civilization have changed considerably in their character and are gradually becoming more complex. Skill, which was perhaps one of the main elements of instruction in the early days, is not now sufficient. In days not so very remote women actually produced the goods that were consumed in the home; now they are responsible for the consumption of goods that are in the main produced elsewhere. They are now responsible for selection and not for production in the old sense. Much of the work that is now done in the schools must be directed towards training them as consumers rather than as producers. It is even more important for them to know how to select materials than for them actually to prepare so many things as formerly. It is estimated that ninety-five per cent of the world's goods is actually purchased by women.¹

Since the housewife usually does the buying for the family, it naturally follows that she controls the markets, not only the production of the goods but all the conditions surrounding their production and distribution. She must be a good

¹ Talbot, Marion, *The Education of Woman*.

buyer, she must know prices, she must have a knowledge of materials and their fitness, she should know what it costs to produce things and where and how they are made. Owing to the lack of this knowledge "it is not strange that most women are the slaves of the manufacturer even to the extent of having the size of their hats and the shape of their bodies determined for them, or that shops are crowded with useless, tawdry, inartistic goods."¹

When women have realized their responsibility in these matters and are adequately trained, we shall have no more adulterated foods, short weights and measures, and unsanitary shops. It is precisely in these respects that the household arts movement has failed to some extent to keep pace with the social and economic changes that have taken place during the last twenty years. We are living at a time of economic pressure. Our attention has hitherto been concentrated on efficiency of production, and consumption has been allowed to take care of itself. Now national economy demands that attention be paid to intelligent consumption, and the education of the woman who spends is a legitimate function of the household arts instruction to be given both in and out of our schools.

A state program for education in the household arts. A state program of education for the home ought to receive the most careful consideration, and should include the following features:²

(a) The inclusion of household arts instruction in every elementary school.

(b) Adequate state supervision by an expert inspector

¹ Talbot, Marion, *The Education of Woman*.

² Adapted in part from "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 37.

whose duties should include the promotion of general interest in the subject, as well as the actual inspection of the schools.

(c) Household arts included as a part of the normal training of every grade teacher in order that she may be able to teach the subject to her own pupils in the same way that she teaches any other school subject. The idea that effective instruction in household arts can be given only by the specially trained teacher has probably operated more than any other single cause to hinder its introduction into the schools of small towns and villages whose resources will not allow them to employ a special teacher.

(d) Adequate training for specialists who are to spend their whole time teaching the household arts. One year of professional training has been found satisfactory for ordinary work, but teachers who intend to take supervisory positions should take three, or preferably four, years' training.

(e) Special state or provincial grants until the work comes to be regarded as essential as the old-time subjects. These grants should be allocated in such a way as to encourage local effort. A lump sum without rigid conditions is never satisfactory. The grant should depend upon a satisfactory report from the state inspector.¹

(f) A system by which small towns and rural districts, where the work is not sufficient to employ the whole time of one teacher, or whose resources do not permit them to pay the salaries of such teachers, may enter into a coöperative arrangement by which they can employ a teacher to spend a day or two in each place. The rapid extension of electric railway lines throughout the country now makes it possible

¹ "Manual Training and Household Science Regulations." Ontario Department of Education, Toronto.

to link up groups of schools for coöperative work of this character. No system which fails to make adequate provision for its rural schools can be considered as even reasonably efficient.

(g) Household arts teaching should be encouraged in all high schools, and if not made compulsory should, at any rate, be offered as an elective. Considering the character of the equipment required in such schools, and the salaries that ought to be paid to teachers therein, the state grants for these schools could well be higher than those paid to elementary schools.

(h) Household arts should be given a place in the system of industrial education at least equal to that given to training for industrial, commercial, or agricultural pursuits. The position of household arts as an industry for which training is necessary and legitimate must be fully recognized.

(i) The subject should be given special attention in the seventh and eighth grades of the public schools. Prevocational or junior high school classes can be formed for these grades without at all encroaching on the subjects which are considered fundamental to a general education.

(j) To carry on the work after the close of the elementary school period, schools of a decidedly vocational character should be established. These schools will have to provide for several distinct classes of students — the woman managing her own household, the young girl who assists her mother, the wage-earning houseworker or maid, and that large class of wage-earning young women who are at present engaged in other employment, but who desire to improve their skill in and knowledge of housekeeping with a view to future possibilities.

(k) The higher institutions of learning should provide in-

struction of an advanced grade and make provision for all forms of research work relating to the household and its activities.

(l) An adequate system of extended education to reach those out of touch with the schools. This should cover the whole state, and all religious and philanthropic agencies should be engaged in it. Movable schools of homemaking, modeled perhaps on the movable schools of agriculture, are a necessity in most rural districts, and the work of visiting teachers as consultants may be developed in connection with the farm demonstration work in agriculture. In many cities visiting nurses and visiting housekeepers have been appointed with the object of preventing disease and improving home conditions. The need for work of this kind is probably as great throughout the rural districts.

Encouragement of vocational education by the federal governments. Though education on this continent is, according to the constitutions, exclusively under the direction and control of the different states and provinces, the national governments have assisted its extension and progress in many ways without interfering unduly with its organization and administration. This has been done in the following ways:

(a) By the Morrill acts establishing the land-grant colleges in 1862. A number of these institutions devote considerable attention to household arts instruction.

(b) By federal grants for agricultural research, from the results of which the home has derived much benefit. Particularly has this been the case in scientific investigations of nutrition made by the experiment stations and by the United States Department of Agriculture.

(c) By the bulletins issued from time to time by the

Bureau of Education and the Department of Agriculture. There has been established recently in connection with the Bureau of Education a division of home education from which much may be expected, and specialists in home economics have also been appointed.

(d) By the adoption of the Smith-Lever and the Smith-Hughes bills which offer financial assistance to the different states. The appropriation under the former bill begins at \$480,000, increasing each year until it continues permanently with an annual appropriation by Congress of \$4,580,000. As each state must make an appropriation equal to its share of this sum, it means that when the act is in full operation, more than nine million dollars a year will be available for extension work in agriculture and home economics.¹ This law makes possible home betterment work in rural districts. The grants are intended to assist extension work only, and by this is meant instruction and practical demonstrations in agriculture and home economics to those not attending or resident in agricultural colleges.

The Smith-Hughes bill provides for three separate appropriations, any one of which a state may accept. The first is for the training of teachers of agricultural, trade, industrial, and home economics subjects; the second is for agricultural education including home economics; the third is for education in trades and industries.

For the training of teachers in all these subjects the measure proposes \$500,000 the first year, increasing annually till \$1,000,000 is reached the fourth year, and then continued as an annual grant divided among the states in proportion to their total population. For education in agri-

¹ Report of Commissioner of Education, 1914. United States Bureau of Education, Washington.

culture for boys and home economics for rural girls the measure proposes \$500,000 the first year, increasing annually till \$3,000,000 is reached the eighth year, and then continuing as an annual grant among the states in the proportion their rural population bears to the total population of the United States. The Commissioner of Education is the executive officer of the federal board provided to administer the fund.

(e) The Canadian government, too, has assisted largely in the development of household arts instruction throughout the different provinces. This has been done through "The Agricultural Instruction Act," which received the Royal Assent June 6, 1913. This act provides for the distribution of ten million dollars in ten years, beginning with \$700,000 the first year and increasing by \$100,000 for four years, when the amount to be divided among the provinces will have reached \$1,100,000, and will there remain until the end of the decade. Before division there are two provisions that have to be satisfied; namely, one of a grant of \$20,000 to the veterinary colleges and another of \$20,000 to each of the provinces regardless of population. After deducting this \$200,000 the remainder is to be divided yearly among the provinces according to population.¹

The uses to which this money is put must be approved by the Commissioner appointed to administer the act and he has in every case sanctioned the allocation of considerable sums towards instruction in household arts through the schools and various forms of extension service.

Report of the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education. In January, 1914, the Congress of the United

¹ "Agricultural Gazette of Canada," Nov., 1915. Department of Agriculture, Ottawa.

States created a commission "to consider the subject of national aid to vocational education and to report their findings and recommendations." This commission is said to have done two very remarkable things. It conducted its investigations and sent in its report by the time set, and turned back into the public treasury one third of the \$15,000 appropriated for its expenses.

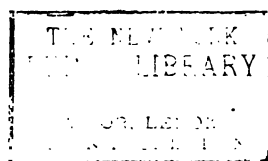
The Smith-Hughes bill referred to above was largely based on the findings of this commission. The following may be quoted as showing its attitude towards instruction in the household arts. "While approving of every possible means of extending the more scientific studies and research for the development of home economics, the commission feels that the particular need at the present time is for material which will reach down to the average girl who goes neither to high school nor to college but on whose training for the care of a home and family the future welfare of society will largely depend."

The sympathetic attitude of the commission towards the subject and its definite recognition of homemaking as an industry make it difficult to resist the temptation to quote largely. One more important statement may be given.

"The problem of home economics training for the great mass of girls who spend their early years in stores, shops, and factories is also one for serious consideration and investigation, and one that has yet hardly been touched, although perhaps it is more important and far reaching than any other. Especially needed are such studies as relate to the purchase and care of clothing, the conservation of health, and the maintaining of efficiency through proper food and exercise, the planning of personal and household budgets, and the proper sanitation and ventilation of home

and workroom surroundings. Such studies as these and many others will be greatly needed in the development of part-time schools for girls who are already at work and would also be highly valuable in developing courses for young housekeepers who have not had the opportunity for such training in our schools."

A general review of the whole question of instruction in the household arts and kindred industries seems to point to the conclusion that the future is bright with promise. The time has come, however, when it is necessary to take stock of the general methods and organization in use, in order that the training now given may be extended, and made more efficient with a view of meeting the new conditions imposed by the changes in our economic and social organization.





HOUSEHOLD ARTS KITCHEN — NORMAL AND MODEL SCHOOL, TORONTO.

CHAPTER II

HOUSEHOLD ARTS INSTRUCTION IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

- I. Introduction.
- II. Household arts advocates.
- III. Two forms of household arts instruction.
- IV. Distribution of instruction in cookery and sewing.
- V. Criticism of instruction in sewing.
- VI. Obstacles to household arts instruction in the schools.
- VII. Teaching cookery without special equipment.
- VIII. The center system.
- IX. Character of equipment.
- X. Neglect of laundry work.
- XI. Teaching housewifery.
- XII. The teacher.
- XIII. Too much expected from the schools.
- XIV. Current criticism of instruction in cookery.
- XV. The family meal the basis of instruction.
- XVI. Summary of improvements needed.

Introduction. The development of household arts instruction in elementary schools has paralleled, to a great extent, that of manual training, and in many localities the household arts are classed as manual training and have shared in the odium that formerly attached to that term. The original underlying motive for the introduction of the household arts into the schools was, as has been said, philanthropic and utilitarian. Just as manual training was advocated on the grounds that it would give us better mechanics, so the household arts were urged because it was thought that

such instruction would give us better housekeepers and homemakers. The fact that both subjects have largely failed to accomplish their original purpose has led to apathy, controversy, and opposition. Later, this original utilitarian purpose was somewhat strongly criticized, and the pedagogical and social value emphasized.

Household arts advocates. The advocates of household arts instruction may be now divided into four classes, and their varying opinions have influenced to a considerable degree the methods of organization adopted in different parts of the country. These four classes may be described as follows:

The Utilitarians. The utilitarians insist that girls shall be given instruction in cooking, sewing, and general household management with the sole view of preparing the homemakers of the future for the duties which will fall to their lot. They ask that practical work in these subjects shall be placed in the curriculum, so that the large number of girls who leave school before finishing the elementary course shall have the opportunity of taking such instruction, and that the course shall have direct bearing upon the immediate economic necessities of the pupil, the power to do things receiving more emphasis than the reasons for the processes.

The manual training advocates. These expect the introduction of the household arts to bring about the development of rapid observation, training, and correlation of hand and eye by means of practice. They also hope to give added dignity to household labor and all the activities of the household. It will be seen that these purposes are very much the same as it is now hoped to accomplish by manual training for boys.

The Culturists. These insist upon the educational value

of the subject, entirely apart from immediate utility or from the possible acquirement of manual dexterity. It would be difficult to say which has hindered the extension of the subject more — the utilitarians or the culturists. A recognition of the fact that neither of these opinions is the right one has led to a conclusion which is really a combination of their two points of view.

The Vocationists. These contend that the household arts form a distinct vocation for which training and preparation is needed. Formerly the term "trade school" was held in contempt, as it was thought that trade training excluded all liberal education, but now that conception is radically changed, and it is recognized that *adequate* trade training cannot be given without at the same time paying much attention to what is called culture. Cultural training and vocational training are not mutually exclusive terms. Each includes the other, and the newer view of household arts instruction is based on the opinion that if it is to achieve its purpose, which in the main is home betterment, both elements must be included, the emphasis being placed where it is demanded by the age, capacity, and condition of the student.

It may be said with a fair degree of accuracy that at present the cultural aim dominates the teaching of household arts on this continent, and this aim forms the basis of much of the adverse criticism that is current. The new demand, not for lessening the cultural but for the stressing of the vocational, forced on the schools by the social and economic changes of the twentieth century, makes imperative certain changes in methods and organization which traditional academic practice renders it difficult to accept.

Two forms of household arts instruction. Household arts instruction in the elementary school may be divided into

two kinds. First, that form of the work which demands no equipment, or so little that it is within the capacity of the poorest school to secure, and second, that type of instruction which requires stoves, cooking utensils, and other apparatus often costing considerable sums. The first form includes sewing and general talks on house cleaning and sanitation, while the second includes what is now generally understood by cookery. It may be classified also according to whether a special teacher is or is not essential, but this division will be dealt with in a later section.

Distribution of sewing and cookery instruction. In a recent investigation conducted by the Bureau of Education it was found that of 390 communities furnishing information as to the elementary school curriculum seven (two per cent) offer cookery alone and 165 (forty-two per cent) offer sewing alone, while 218 (fifty-six per cent) offer both cookery and sewing. The tendency thus seems to be, to offer both subjects, while if one only is provided, sewing is the favored subject, doubtless because little equipment is necessary and it can be taught by the regular grade teacher, and does not necessitate the employment of a specialist. This tendency is shown also in the sequence or order of introducing sewing and cookery. Of 390 cases 134 introduced cooking and sewing simultaneously; in seven cases cookery alone had been introduced; and in twenty-four cases cookery first introduced had been followed by sewing; in 165 cases sewing alone had been introduced, and in sixty cases sewing first introduced has been followed by cookery; that is, if cookery has been first introduced there has been a chance of 3.4 to 1 that sewing would be added, while if sewing was started first, there has been a chance of only 0.36 to 1 that cookery would be added.

In the investigation above referred to it was found that

in the schools reporting, sewing was taught in the first grade in twenty schools; in the second grade in twenty-five schools; in the third grade in forty-five schools; in the fourth grade in eighty-two schools; in the fifth grade in 236 schools; in the sixth grade in 345 schools; in the seventh grade in 377 schools; and in the eighth grade in 316 schools. It will thus be seen that sewing has been taught in all grades, but has been most commonly placed in the four upper grades, and of these more often in the sixth and seventh grades than in the fifth and eighth grades.¹

The above figures lead to the conclusion that an impression exists that sewing cannot be taught satisfactorily to the lower grades, as it will be seen that only ninety schools report sewing as taught in the three lower grades. The experience of other countries does not bear out this impression. In England the subject is taught in every grade of the elementary schools and is compulsory. In all schools for girls and in all mixed schools sewing is on an equality with the traditional subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic and has as much time devoted to it. In the primary schools of France, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland the same conditions hold. In the Province of Ontario there is a course of study in use which provides for instruction in the eight grades of the elementary schools. This syllabus has been in operation for some years, and where adopted is accomplishing the results desired.

Criticisms of instruction in sewing. It now will be pertinent to consider some of the more important adverse criticisms leveled against sewing as taught in the schools.

Lack of practical value. Probably the most frequent

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 37.

criticism heard is that the sewing as taught is of no practical use, and certainly its failure to connect with the home and actual needs has hindered its growth and extension. One parent says: "I don't expect the girl to learn dressmaking, but if she were taught only to use a pattern, how much she could help me with the younger children's clothes and what a saving it would be? Another says: "If the girl could only do some by herself without waiting for the teacher to tell her what to do next, what a help she would be to me. She has brought home a garment which she says she made, but when I have given her cloth to do the same at home, she can do nothing."

"At a school in one of the poorest districts in Chicago, on a warm June day this summer, children were at their gymnastic work in the yard still sewed into the heavy woolen underwear they had worn all winter. At the same time in their beginning sewing they were working on pin-cushions, small bags, fancy holders, etc. There seemed to be no connection in the minds of the children between sewing and the idea of clothing, and yet these children were old enough to be making the actual underwear needed for that time of the year. It is not less knowledge that we need — less theory if you choose to call it so — but it is more knowledge carried directly into living."¹

The "exercise" method. The method still largely in use is the exercise method which has been so discredited in the case of manual training that it has been generally abandoned. Since sewing was introduced at about the same time as manual training, it was thought necessary in many cases to maintain parallelism between the two subjects, and though

¹ Addresses and Proceedings of the National Education Association, 1914.

the method has been dispensed with in one case, it has been retained in the other. The various "stitch forms" dealt with as so many exercises are worked out on pieces of unbleached calico about four and a half inches square to nine inches by five inches in size. Rows and rows of these stitches are practiced until the girl becomes fairly proficient. In the process she loses interest, becomes dull and listless, and looks upon the work as a task to be got rid of as soon as possible. These pieces of calico are then fastened into a book, which is supposed to be retained by the girl and used as a reference book when the necessity arises. Unless the acquisition of the ability to make the stitches be followed by their immediate application to a garment or other useful article, simple though it may be, the method is decidedly unsatisfactory and works rather in the direction of prejudicing the girl against sewing than of encouraging her in its pursuit.

An English observer, in describing this method in one of the schools of the United States says, "Thirty pieces of needlework must be completed within the two years; as a consequence, very small samples of each stitch or of its application are possible, and the results as observed did not appear to be very satisfactory. The boys were interested, eager, and happy (at woodwork); the girls uninterested, bored, and rather careless. This introduction to 'manual training' is succeeded in grades seven and eight by cookery for the girls and carpentry for the boys: the change of attitude among the girls was significant and striking."¹

No sane advocate of the cultural aim would contend that practice is not necessary, but it must be practice the application of which is apparent to the girl. After three or four

¹ "School Training for the Home Duties of Women," Vol. 16. *Special Reports*, London, England.

stitches have been worked they should be applied to a useful article. After this, one or two new stitches should be practiced, and these and the ones previously learned again applied. It is perfectly feasible to organize courses on this principle. The home applications should be stressed throughout, and mending and repairing, as well as making, should receive adequate consideration. Numerous courses have been drawn up for teaching sewing in the elementary schools, but very few of them pay any attention to this branch of the subject.

*Methods adopted in Belgium.*¹ The organization and methods of teaching needlework in the Belgian schools offer us many useful suggestions. The general ordinance of Maria Theresa, published December 6, 1774, contains the following: "Là où il y a des écoles distinctes, les filles seront instruites séparément. On leur enseignera autant que possible la couture, le tricot, et tout ce qui est convenable à leur sexe." But notwithstanding this it was not till 1879 that needlework was made compulsory in primary schools for girls.

The needlework instruction aims chiefly at practical results directly applicable in the homes. The teacher demonstrates everything on a large scale before the class so that all may see; for instance, the knitting stitch in the lower standards is shown with large needles and wool of two colors, so that each row of stitches is distinguishable. In sewing, the different stitches are first demonstrated on canvas upon a frame with a large needle and thick, colored thread similar to the demonstration frame used in many American schools. After each stitch is learned it is practically applied. When pieces of work are too difficult for the lower standards

¹ "School Training for the Home Duties of Women," Vol. 16. Special Reports, London, England.

to finish, they are completed by the pupils of the higher grades, in order to teach coöperation; for instance, children's petticoats knitted in strips by the little ones are joined and put into a waistband by the children of the upper grades. All the work is done actual size and not on a reduced scale.

Particular attention is given to mending in the schools of European countries. In the elementary schools of Belgium the practical mending of garments is taught from the fourth school year onwards. A "table of mending" drawn up by the teacher is posted in many schools, giving an account of the mending done by each pupil during the year, with the object of encouraging the bringing to school of torn garments from home and of overcoming the false shame some of the children feel in so doing.

When opportunity offers, the lessons in other subjects are correlated with the lessons in needlework. In arithmetic the little ones calculate the cost of the wool that has been used; in the higher grades they are taught to calculate beforehand the cost of the stuff and materials, and also the comparative cost of the homemade and the bought article. Drawing and language are also correlated in the same way.

One striking feature of the instruction given is the attention that is paid to economy. The greatest care is taken to teach the pupils to waste nothing; scraps of material left over from the making of underclothing, for example, are made into nightdress bags. Similarly with knitting, a practical use is made of everything. Squares by which increasing and decreasing is learned will be joined together, feather-stitched, edged with crochet, and so made into a cot cover. A small practice piece of plain knitting made in the first year will be edged with crochet and made into a child's bib.

Methods adopted in Boston. In one of the Boston schools during the year 1914 a special class of twenty-four girls, from two eighth grades, who had shown special ability in this direction, was formed to take sewing on practical and trade lines. Two hours were allowed each week. After much plain sewing and machine practice, the girls selected and bought materials for dresses for themselves. Each girl made at least one dress, some made two, others three, and one girl made seven. The cost of the dresses when completed varied from forty-five cents to \$1.35. The time taken was from six to sixteen hours. Economy in buying and cutting were stressed. Two sales were held, the girls taking full charge. Two were chosen from their number for salesgirls, two for cash girls, two for bundle girls, and one for cashier. In addition to the practical character of the training, the results seem to have been that many of them placed their application to attend the trade school and the high school of practical arts the next September.

In another school a "mending squad," consisting of three girls to each floor, calls out any girls who have buttons missing or other minor defects in their dress. If a girl appears too often, she attends to the missing button after school. By comparison the defects were reported as follows:

<i>Oct. 10, 1913,</i>	<i>June 8, 1914,</i>
100 girls	10 girls
283 buttons	8 buttons
7 buttonholes	
23 hooks	5 hooks
9 eyes	3 eyes

Examples such as those cited above show, to some extent, what may be done towards linking up the subject with the

real needs of practical life without at all lessening the educational value of the work.

Obstacles to household arts instruction in the schools. The obstacles which have prevented the general spread of the subject throughout all the schools of the country may be stated as follows :

Rapid industrial development. Systems of education find it difficult to keep pace with the rapid development of the country. In many cities the schools are congested, and the problem of building new schools is a constant one. In some localities the children can only attend school half of the day, owing to lack of the necessary accommodation,^F and various schemes are being resorted to such as the Gary system in order to accommodate all the children. In many rural districts the length of the term, and the time the children attend, is so limited that subjects which it is thought may still be acquired in the home do not find a place in the school time-table.

Contempt for manual occupations. There still exists in the minds of the majority of people the impression that learning acquired from books is the only avenue to culture and prosperity. The value and dignity of manual occupations have not yet been universally recognized. The average parent is quite willing to admit that it is noble for his neighbor's boy or girl to work with the hands but not for his own, and this widespread contempt for manual labor has played a large part in the opposition to the introduction of handwork into the schools.

Insufficient attention in the training schools for teachers. It is unfortunate from many points of view that the idea has grown up that all the different branches of the household arts require a special teacher who shall teach these subjects and nothing else in the school curriculum. There is no valid

reason why the ordinary grade teacher should not be able to qualify herself for the efficient and practical teaching of sewing, at least in the lower grades of the elementary school. In English schools sewing is a regular subject, and every girl taking the examination for the teacher's certificate is required to pass in plain needlework just as she is required to pass in other subjects, and failure to do so means rejection. The Ontario course of study in needlework has been previously referred to. With a view towards assisting the untrained or partially trained teacher to carry out this syllabus, the education department of that province has issued a manual on sewing in which full instructions are given to the teacher regarding methods and class management. It is thoroughly well illustrated, every stitch form and its applications being shown. This manual is being adopted in other provinces of the dominion and is of such a character that by its aid any teacher of ordinary ability can make an effective beginning in the teaching of the subject, and, as a rule, it is the beginning only that is required.

As a matter of fact some of the best instruction in sewing is given by the regular grade teacher. It has been found that a much better all-round educational result is secured in the first six grades when it is so done. The grade teacher knows, or should know, the character and ability of the individual pupil much better than a teacher imported for one or two hours a week, and she can relate in a much closer way the work done in that subject with that done in the other subjects of the curriculum. The obstacles to this plan are usually to be found in large classes and the lack of training of the teacher; but there is now a decided tendency to reduce the size of classes, and no teacher, in view of the greater attention that is being given to sewing in the training schools,

and the provision that is being made in summer schools, need remain without a fair knowledge of the subject.

Limited time in school schedules. The limited time that has up to the present been allowed for the subject in school schedules has warranted the suspicion that it is only being played with. In the English and Belgian schools the time allowed for sewing is from two and a half hours to three hours each week, and in this length of time something worth while can be done. In the United States the time given to sewing each week in the different grades varies as follows: first, forty to forty-five minutes; second, forty-five minutes; third, forty-five minutes; fourth, fifth, and sixth, sixty minutes; eighth, seventy-five minutes. The table following shows the general tendency of time allotment for the subject: ¹

NO. OF GRADE	SCHOOLS REPORTING INSTRUCTION IN GRADE	SHORTEST AND LONGEST TIME REPORTED IN MINUTES	MEDIAN NUMBER OF MINUTES REPORTED	MINUTES TAKEN AS LIMITS TO INCLUDE HALF THE SCHOOLS	MODAL OR MOST FREQUENTLY REPORTED TIME FOR GRADES
1	20	20-100	40-45	30-60 ²	30-60
2	25	20-100	45	30-60 ³	30, 60
3	45	20-140	45	40-60 ³	30, 40, 45, 60
4	82	25-180	60	45-60 ³	30, 45, 60
5	236	25-450	60	45-60 ³	40, 45, 60, 90
6	345	25-225	60	60-90 ³	40, 45, 60, 75, 80, 90
7	377	25-600	75	60-90 ³	60, 90
8	316	30-600	75-80	60-90 ³	60, 75, 80, 20, 120

Teaching cookery without special equipment. The other branch of household arts instruction that is usually found

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 37.

² Includes 75%.

³ Includes 50%.

in the schools is cookery, and as this generally necessitates special equipment, it is thought that nothing can be done without it, but even where no practical work is possible, much of the related theory may be taken with advantage. In the code for English schools there was included, for many years, a subject called "domestic economy." A regular textbook was used which included general talks and lessons on foods, sanitation, table service, hygiene, manners, and other kindred features of family and home life. In many schools in the United States an attempt has been made, with more or less success, to have practical work done at home, or in home kitchens, and the theoretical and descriptive work done in school. The connecting of the course in household arts with the home in this and similar ways is of such extreme importance that it will be dealt with in a separate chapter. It may be said here, however, that instruction in household arts need not wait for either special teachers or special equipment in the schools.

The "center system." The branch of the household arts that needs special equipment is generally known as "cookery," though that term by no means denotes all the instruction that should be given. The method usually adopted is that known as the "center system," *i.e.*, a room is equipped in some central location, and different classes from various schools in the neighborhood attend in turn. This system has grown up in connection with manual training. It has nothing to recommend it except perhaps economy. Time is lost in going to and from school or home to the center and in many cases the subject is looked upon by the girls as outside of, and different from, their regular studies. It is always better to have the center, if not attached to, at least in close proximity to an institution devoted entirely to education.

An inspector of household arts writes: "Probably the only case where household arts are struggling against petty, adverse, and malicious criticism is due very largely to the fact that that particular center is far removed from a school and is separated from other educational influences and discipline." When one and a half hours per week are devoted to the lesson a center will thus accommodate fifteen classes per week. A much better arrangement, however, is two classes a day of two hours each. This plan gives the teacher time to properly prepare her material, and to perform certain social duties which the efficient teaching of the household arts should include.

Character of equipment. The equipment now in general use has received some adverse criticism: "We are too prone in the teaching of the domestic arts to run to elaborate equipment which it is utterly impossible to provide within the home of a working man or even in the houses of the middle classes." There is no doubt that this criticism contains a large measure of truth. The organization and equipment of household arts classes should have a very direct bearing upon the present and future home conditions of the pupils, and it is precisely in this direction that the equipment is defective. Of course, the conditions under which twenty-four girls work will have to be different from those of the home kitchen which generally provides space for only two or three, but the former should be made to approximate as closely as possible to the latter. In some schools in addition to the large kitchen to accommodate the whole class, there is provided a small room fitted like a home kitchen with range, sink, cupboards, and pantry to duplicate the home conditions existing in the neighborhood. In one case this was accomplished by the adaptation of a large cottage in the

school grounds, formerly used by the caretaker. The living and the dining room were thrown into one, providing a laboratory kitchen, and the original kitchen of the house left as it was. Here three or four girls are deputed to work, largely on their own responsibility. They work out, under home conditions, lessons that have been previously taught in the laboratory kitchen. By a proper system of rotation each girl gets about six or seven periods a year in this kitchen.

Absence of a coal or wood stove. One great defect in the majority of schools is the absence of a coal stove. A regulation refusing to recognize any school not so equipped should be made by state or provincial departments of education. Many of these schools are, of course, in towns where gas can be had, and for this reason a gas range only is provided, but from questions asked it is found that even in those towns, the majority of the girls use coal or wood stoves in their home kitchens. In very few cases is it found that the majority of the parents use gas stoves. As a recent writer has said: "Half the success in cooking by coal or wood lies in knowing how to make a fire and keep it right. And yet I have seen scores of teachers of cooking who could not make a coal or wood fire and keep it right to save their blessed souls." Many teachers object to the coal stove on account of the work it causes. One teacher of household science in a room fitted with a coal stove informed the inspector that she did not consider it her business, or that of the girls under her care, to keep it clean and in good working order but that of the caretaker, and the result was that the stove was in a very dirty condition. A coal stove requires entirely different treatment and management from a gas range, and for this and other reasons a coal stove should be placed in a household

science kitchen in addition to the gas range and individual gas stoves, before it can be considered properly equipped.

Changes in equipment. The type of equipment in general use has become stereotyped, and while it is not desirable to make alterations for the mere sake of change, yet it is time to consider whether the type of equipment now in use is best calculated to give that all-round training which the requirements of the modern home demand. There is no question now that trade training should be given under real conditions, and in ordinary household arts instruction the closer the conditions are made to approximate those of real life the more effective the work will be. Some go so far as to believe that the school will never teach cooking efficiently until the instruction is given under actual home conditions and in the home itself. They maintain that, at best, the school can only offer an imitation of home conditions and therefore can never be efficient, but, not to go so far as this, it may readily be admitted that some improvements in equipment are desirable in order to approximate more closely the home conditions.

A new type of equipment is in use in a few institutions, and though this was definitely designed for purely vocational schools it offers many suggestions, and probably indicates the lines on which the remodeling of the elementary school equipment should take place. The new system is that known as the "unit kitchen." By this method the home kitchen is made the unit of equipment, the unit being repeated as often as required to accommodate the number of pupils. These kitchens are small rooms like the ordinary tenement kitchen and are furnished with sink, stove, table, and the necessary utensils. They are built with three walls, leaving the front open so that the teacher may supervise the

work in several kitchens by passing along the front of each. There should also be provided in the open space in front or in an adjoining room equipment for use when class instruction or demonstrations are being given.¹

In a circular issued by the Belgian Minister of the Interior and of Public Instruction occurs the following passage relating to equipment: "It is therefore advisable to establish the housewifery school for adults in premises resembling as much as possible in extent, arrangement, and furniture, those in which the girl will fulfil later her beneficent mission. To initiate her to household work in vast and luxurious surroundings provided with perfect apparatus, is to expose her to bitter disappointment, even despondency, on the day when she must confine her activities and aspirations in a home as meager as that of a laborer or workman generally is. What is primarily necessary to a girl of the people is a domestic education really in touch with her future condition and not a so-called preparation in which the inevitable realities and demands of practical life are not sufficiently taken into account."²

A recent writer has admirably stated this question as follows: "Is there over-refinement in some of the household arts training? Are girls surrounded by such ideal conditions in the work in the school that they are unable to carry into their own homes the benefit of the instruction and the practice? Are our laboratories arranged with due regard to the conditions under which the girl must try the same project at home which was so successfully carried out in the class? Is

¹ "Cooking in the Vocation School." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1915, No. 1.

² "School Training for the Home Duties of Women," Vol. 16. Special Reports, London, England.

there danger that the idealization of the process at the school may send the girl home, not only unable but unwilling in her heightened dissatisfaction to attempt its repetition? Wherever this occurs is not the course of training open to the criticism that it has failed to adjust the pupil with the new asset, to the environment in which it is to be used? How far is this trouble when it exists due to the overemphasis of the scientific and artistic aspects of the subject and how far to a failure to understand that the real purpose of the work is to prepare the girl to make a better home out of the one she now has? Will this difficulty ever be remedied until all those who give instruction in them have been so taught in the training schools as to realize that the largest purpose of each is civic and social betterment? ”¹

It has been previously mentioned that instruction in household arts has been largely, and in some cases entirely, restricted to cookery and the equipment has been designed to that end. A modified form of equipment is to be experimented with in one of the Ontario schools. This is designed to enable what is called “housewifery” in the English schools, to be taught without providing an actual cottage or house. A very large room is fitted with six laundry tubs, with three wringers, accommodation for twelve girls at cooking, dining-room furniture, bedroom furniture in one corner of the room separated by a screen, and the necessary cupboards and utensils. The laundry tubs are provided with a cover which is intended to be used as a table, for cutting out patterns, dressmaking, etc. It is hoped that an equipment of this character will enable a much more general training to be given than can be offered in the usual type of cooking laboratory.

Neglect of laundry work. A branch of household arts in-

¹ Prosser, C. A., *Industrial Arts Magazine*, July, 1915.

struction almost entirely ignored at present is laundry work. In the English schools practically as much attention is given to this subject as is paid to cookery, and it is found that the subject has vocational, domestic, and educational possibilities. On this continent the subject has received little attention, owing to the prevalent impression that an elaborate and expensive equipment is required. This may be true in trade and technical schools, where it is usual to provide drying rooms and power equipment, but it is quite possible, and has been found practicable, to do very effective work in the ordinary school kitchen. In the regulations of the Ontario Department of Education an equipment is given costing less than \$65, and indeed in one school excellent work has been done with an equipment costing only \$22.30 in addition to the equipment usually found in every school kitchen. It is highly desirable that more attention should be given to this subject in both our elementary schools and in our high schools.

Teaching housewifery. The subject of "housewifery" is gradually being introduced. The plan of teaching housewifery is best shown by a typical example. The Manchester (England) education committee owned two cottages near one of the schools. These houses were furnished and equipped suitably for a workingman's home. The teacher lives in one of the houses, and classes of twelve girls are taught at a time. All the practical details of household management are dealt with, including the buying and cooking of food, breadmaking, washing, mangling and ironing, cleaning, dusting, etc. By means of this provision about 120 girls will have the benefit of practical training. Simple lessons in hygiene and in the tending and feeding of young children are also given. To meet the requirements of the

English education department each girl is required to have previously received a course of lessons in cookery and laundry work. If the last six months of a girl's school life could be spent at such a center, in training for the duties of keeping the home, there can be no question that a vast improvement would be effected in the comfort and economy of home life, and such provision would probably have a decided tendency to prolong school life.

Housewifery school in Toronto. A few notable examples of the same tendency on this continent may be now mentioned. The city of Toronto has a housewifery center for public school girls. It is situated in a poor district and is largely attended by the children of Jewish parents. A large house, the property of the Board of Education, is used, consisting of three floors, on the upper one of which the janitor lives. The equipment is simple and cheap, though good of its kind. The staff consists of three fully qualified teachers — one for cookery and general housekeeping, one for sewing, and one for personal hygiene, care of children, and home nursing. The last-mentioned teacher, in addition to her normal qualifications, is also a trained nurse. Each girl attends the school half a day each week, and while it is recognized that this time is very short, it is all that the academic authorities can be persuaded to give; yet with even this limited time the effect of the training is being seen in the changed appearance of the girls and the improved conditions of the homes from which they come.

Housewifery in Greenfield, Massachusetts. In Greenfield, Massachusetts, a cottage was purchased for grade use and a larger house for the use of high school students. In the grade cottage instruction is given to girls in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades for one and a half hours each week.

The classes are divided into two groups; the regular teacher gives instruction in sewing to one group, while the special teacher gives instruction in cooking and household management to the other group.

Housewifery in Park Ridge, New Jersey. The schools of Park Ridge, New Jersey, a town of eighteen hundred people, have rented a two-story building, erected originally with two stores below and two four-room apartments above. One of the stores has been fitted for household arts and the other for manual training; the apartments are leased to teachers, and the whole is kept as a model house, the children doing the work, scrubbing the floors, making beds, serving luncheons, etc.¹

Housewifery centers in New York. The Association of Practical Housekeeping Centers of New York is a philanthropic association working, often in conjunction with the public schools, for the maintenance of model apartments where children, young women, and mothers may receive training in homemaking. The housekeeping center at 226 Henry Street, for instance, is now a part of the nearest public school. The pupils of that school, in groups of fifteen, fill the model home from nine in the morning till three o'clock in the afternoon, and the Board of Education pays the salary of the teacher. Public School No. 7 has, with the aid of the housekeeping association, actually built a model of a home in the school building. The kitchen, bedroom, living-room, and bath-room are fully equipped, and every week over two hundred girls study the problems of homemaking. Next door to Public School No. 4, Manhattan, an ordinary tenement-house flat has been equipped and made into a model homemaking

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 36.



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laboratory for the pupils. This flat was entirely furnished by the girls. The housekeeping center at 162 Sullivan Street has been for many years the model of that Italian neighborhood, and is now connected during school hours with one of the public schools four blocks away. Many of the other public schools have now such centers in connection with them. In every case the teacher is fully qualified and has had a thorough training.¹ There are numerous examples to be found of such houses or apartments for the use of high school pupils, and these will be dealt with in a future chapter.

The teacher. As in any other subject of the school curriculum the character of the instruction given will largely depend upon the standard set for the qualifications of teachers. In connection with household arts there are two courses open. The subject may be taught by the regular grade teacher or it may be regarded as a special subject to be taught by a special teacher. The latter plan is the one that is most common. The experience of the best educational authorities to-day seems to be that all subjects should be taught in at least the first six grades by the regular teacher, and indeed if the household arts are to be taught at all in a large number of our schools, they must be taught so. There are many striking examples of successful teaching by the grade teacher, particularly in the one-room rural school. Public attention at present, however, seems to be concentrated on the special teacher, and the criticisms under this head are mainly directed against her.

Generally speaking, the household arts teacher is too young and immature to have had any practical housekeeping experience, and this prejudices the mothers of the pupils against her, which prejudice, even if not consciously expressed, often

¹ *Journal of Home Economics*, February, 1915.

communicates itself to the children themselves. Not only is the teacher, as a rule, lacking practical housekeeping experience, but she is also unacquainted with the requirements, the standards, and the potentialities of the homes from which her pupils come. Unless some means can be devised by which the teacher can gain this knowledge, much of the work will be ineffective, owing to false standards and over-refinement. The Wisconsin state inspector of domestic science says that "it must be admitted that the home conditions have not been changed to any great extent by our change in the educational ideals."¹ Mrs. Woolman says that "it is felt that the homes have not materially increased in efficiency through the school courses,"² and also that "in spite of the time given to the household arts in many of the elementary schools a real knowledge of homemaking is not given." In a school of housewifery previously referred to the teachers have no opportunity to visit the homes except on Sunday afternoons, as the school is in a Jewish district, while the teacher of hygiene, home nursing, and the care of children is prohibited from visiting at all, as it is feared that she would clash with the regular school nurse.

Owing to this lack of home knowledge, many of the methods adopted are at variance with the general practice of the homes from which the pupils come. The dietitian of Cook County institutions makes the following statement: "I had occasion a few days ago to visit a number of household economics departments in high schools. In one there was a typewritten lesson on table service. In this I found two statements. 'The dinner napkin should be a yard square.' 'Paper napkins should never be used in the home.' These

¹ *Journal of Home Economics*, October, 1915.

² Consumers' League of Connecticut, Pamphlet No. 8.

were the standards set before girls in very moderate circumstances who should have been taught instead the legitimate use of the paper napkin, and a reasonable size of the linen napkin. In another school the sewing was done entirely by hand. Elaborate garments were made. Long seams were stitched by the laborious hand method. The teacher told me she did not wish a machine because hand work was the best. She had taken her girls to a children's store in the city, and there they had impressed upon them the fact that handwork brought higher prices and was more desirable than machine work. She endeavored to fix this as a standard for the home, taking no account of the value of time and labor. A false ideal, it seems to me, was put before such girls."¹

Preliminary training required. Instructors in household arts should be trained along three lines: (1) teaching ability, (2) knowledge of home conditions, and (3) technique. For the purely technical training of the teacher fairly adequate provision is made in different parts of the country. Many of the institutions devoted to this purpose are, however, lacking in one important respect: they do not provide adequately for what may be called professional training, *i.e.*, the methods and practice of teaching. In the Province of Ontario, before the special household arts training can be entered upon, at least a second-class teacher's certificate must be obtained, and, in addition to this, a certain number of lessons have to be taught to public school pupils during the training. The tendency in the United States is to require at least two years of special training after graduation from a high school. The problems of the classroom are very different from those of the training school, and practice teaching

¹ National Education Association Addresses and Proceedings, 1914.

is essential to effective training. The state should not recognize and approve any institution which does not make adequate provision for the necessary practice. It is a manifest injustice to pupils to place them under the instruction of an individual who has not been taught how to teach.

Training in service. After a teacher has received all the training it is possible for any institution to give, she has still a great deal to learn, and, in fact, it may be said with truth that her training is only just beginning when she commences to teach. Much of her work lies in the homes and in the community, and much further study will be required. It is much to be regretted that a large number of our teachers fail to recognize this. Just as a teacher in a trade school becomes stagnant unless she keeps up active connection with her trade and its practice, so does the teacher of the household arts become ineffective in her class work unless she keeps alive to the possibilities and development of the community in which she lives.

Too much expected from the schools. In all criticism of our schools and their methods, there is a tendency to expect too much, and not to recognize the conditions under which the work has to be done. This mistake has been made in connection with the household arts. The girls are too immature, and household arts appeal to them as having a deferred value only. So long as girls leave school at fourteen or younger, though they may have been taught cooking both practically and theoretically, any one that knows anything about children will feel sure that most of what they have learned will be forgotten before they have an opportunity of putting it into practice unless it is reënforced by further instruction. Yet the training will not have been wasted. It will have shown the girl that her education has some connection with life,

and should have developed habits of neatness and exactness, and formed a constructive foundation upon which in later years it will be possible to build a body of knowledge which can be put into immediate use.

“Briefly the school can do these things for the home:

(1) Reënforce the natural interest of the child in the home and strengthen that home mindedness of the best type which centers the individual in the small kin group as the one enduring basis for her wider social relations. (2) Impart knowledge necessary for leading or sharing in the activities of the household as regards food, shelter, clothing, management, child life, thrift, and other household matters of importance. (3) Afford some practice in these activities where such practice is necessary for learning, both by laboratory practice within the school and coöperation with the home. We must use the school route then as regards home betterment quite as we do for progress in any other field, because the child and the adult, too, are school minded.”¹

Current criticism of instruction in cookery. The teaching of cookery as a branch of the household arts is now so firmly established throughout the country that criticism by opponents is seldom heard; indeed it may be almost said that it has no opponents except a few rural school trustees who object to it mainly on the ground of expense. The severest criticism comes from those who are heartily in favor of the subject, but who are anxious to see all cause of complaint removed and the subject made of real live worth and of direct benefit to the homes of the people. Let us now consider, with a view to the removal of their causes, some of the criticisms that experience has shown to be warranted. In many cases the criticisms

¹ “Education for the Home.” United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 37.

themselves will suggest the remedy. It is very much open to question whether any material improvement has taken place in the methods of household arts teaching during the past ten years. Teachers are reproducing, very largely, the methods they were taught in the training school. This probably does not apply more to household arts instruction than it does to the other subjects of the curriculum, but it at least deserves serious consideration when it is remembered that this particular subject is supposed to be unhampered by tradition and age-long custom.

Some of the defects in methods that have been pointed out by various critics are as follows :

Waste of time. When a girl goes home and tells her mother that she has spent the whole of a lesson, lasting one and a half or two hours, in learning how to make a cup of tea or a slice of toast, either of which operations is performed in the home in less than five minutes, the mother is not likely to be impressed with the value of the instruction, and is apt to come to the conclusion that the time could have been better spent at the regular school studies. These cases are not fanciful, but actually occurred in a city of over four hundred thousand population. The parent does not stop to consider that much information has been given regarding the growth and production of the loaf, and other incidental topics, but bases her opinion on the visible results achieved. No one can seriously contend that lessons of this character are necessary. In the same locality a lesson was given, which included the making of a cup of tea, a sandwich, and apple sauce; not, however, as the teacher said, with the object of saving time, but owing to her idea that it was not good to drink tea without eating something at the same time.

Mrs. Woolman says : " A student is allowed to take many

weeks in making an article which should be made in a few hours, or spends the part of the cooking period when the prepared food has gone to the oven in hit-or-miss clearing up, or in discussions of little value to everyday living. The systematic utilization of time should be one of the marks of a capable home manager."¹ Is there not too much time spent in washing dishes? It has been found that the average time spent in this operation in a class of one and a half hours in length is at least fifteen minutes. Assuming that forty lessons are given during the year, this means ten hours dishwashing out of sixty, or one sixth of the total time available. It should be possible for a girl of average intelligence to learn all there is to learn about dishwashing in say two and a half hours. Add to this another two and a half hours to acquire dexterity. Is not the other five hours largely wasted from an educational point of view? It must be admitted that at present no solution of this problem appears to be in sight. It has been presented to scores of household arts teachers and they see no way out.

Much valuable time is also wasted in extensive dictation or copying of notes. Hours are often spent in this way. The sole use of notes should be to recall a lesson previously given, and this is best done by the use of proper headings, catch phrases, and careful arrangement. A much better plan than note taking is to have the notes and necessary recipes printed on cards punched for binding. At the conclusion of the lesson the cards are distributed and taken home by the pupil. The work can be practiced during the week and the next lesson commenced with a rapid but thorough review. At the end of the year's work the cards are tied together, and the girl has a valuable collection of notes and

¹ Consumers' League of Connecticut, Pamphlet No. 8.

recipes which may become of permanent value. In some schools the notes are typewritten by the commercial classes. Considering the limited amount of time available, every effort should be made by both teachers and pupils to make the utmost use of it.

Cooking in microscopic quantities. This is the ordinary practice in household arts instruction in the elementary school. It results largely from a desire to keep down the running expenses to the lowest possible amount, but in the desire to secure economy this practice has been carried to the extreme, and efficiency has been sacrificed. It is not surprising to find that girls will not go into raptures over practice stitches or cooking half a potato. In one class two girls were actually seen working on one tomato. This is surely economy gone mad. Besides using small quantities, the girls often work in groups of two or sometimes four, thus further reducing the cost. This reduction of cost has been brought to a fine art. Of 182 schools reported to the Bureau of Education the cost varied from one half a cent to fifteen cents. The median cost was two and a half cents, and fifty per cent of the schools paid from two to three cents per pupil per lesson for materials.¹ In addition to the economic motive the difficulty of disposing of larger quantities of the cooked product has also contributed to the adoption of the "divided recipe."

The Household Arts teachers of the country should now devote some time and thought to this problem—how to cook in family quantities, and economically and profitably dispose of the product. It can be done. In the English schools the girls take delight in disposing of their cooked material to the

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 37.

teachers of the school, or in the households of the neighborhood. I have a vivid recollection of many times taking home a dainty lunch prepared by the girls in the cookery center attached to the school in which I was then teaching. In some schools, regular lunches are prepared and served by the girls, for the teachers. Others take orders brought from home by the girls or secured by them in the neighborhood.

The disposal of the product affords a means of giving commercial training to the girls, which they otherwise would not get, and cooking in larger quantities may be made to carry itself, and really be less expensive than the small quantities now in general use. As long as the principle of each girl cooking only what she can eat on the spot is adhered to, so long will the instruction appear artificial, and lack that element of vital connection with real life that the introduction of the manual arts was supposed to inject into a dull and lifeless curriculum.

Principles instead of practice. In much of the household arts teaching of to-day it is usual to introduce the subject with the more abstract underlying principles and to emphasize these at the expense of their more practical applications. The method adopted is very largely that which has been discontinued in the teaching of science, where the experiment is now conducted first and the principles deduced from the results of the experiment. For the children in the elementary schools and the lower forms of the high schools, all such questions as the chemical content of the various foods, the bodily changes in the digestive processes, the required number of calories for people at work and at rest, the relation of geometry to drafting, and many other kindred topics are out of place, as they cannot be utilized in the everyday experience of the child. Courses in cookery are generally

arranged according to the scientific principles involved or according to the method of cooking required, and both methods, while resulting in a course of study that is scientific and logical, also result in a series of lessons that have little or no connection with the practical life of the child.

Independence, initiative, and self-reliance are not being developed. An observer of the household arts instruction that is being given throughout the country, cannot help being surprised at the uniformly good results that are obtained. It is seldom indeed that anything is spoiled. This, unfortunately, is not as a rule the result of good teaching or of skill, but rather the result of too much help being given by the teacher. The average teacher of household arts would think it almost a crime for a cake to be spoiled, or a pudding to be burned, and so to prevent this catastrophe she helps the girls at every touch and turn. Now while this is good for the product, it is bad for the producer. The girls who are receiving instruction must be left more alone to work out their own salvation.

The family meal, the basis of instruction. A prolonged experience has led to the conclusion that if the instruction is to be used in the homes, there is no better method of approach than the family meal, and this should be kept as the basis of instruction, and the work made intensely practical. "Reference has already been made to the over-technical and insufficient practice of much of the education offered. In part this is due to the ease with which the so-called technical subjects — pure or applied science, applied art, etc. — can be taught in accordance with the traditions of academic education. The most difficult teaching is that which, proceeding through practice on projects based upon the practical requirements of life, leads into a mastery of the related and technical

knowledge. There is abundant evidence to show that for most students, such a method of approach, properly made, is the most effective that can be devised."¹

Using the family meal as the basis of instruction does not mean that the theory of the subject should be neglected. Theory and practice must go together; practice without theory becomes mechanical and "rule of thumb," while theory without practice is profitless for all practical purposes. It means a study of neighborhood needs by the teacher. The syllabuses drawn up for the teaching of household arts in various parts of the country are monotonously the same — the same succession of lessons is found repeatedly. It matters not whether the pupils are well-to-do, live in the country or in the city, in a well-appointed home, in a cheap city apartment, or in the squalor of a city slum. All must have the same lessons because they are prescribed in the course of study.

A study of neighborhood needs will lead to the differentiation of courses, not only between town and country but even between different sections in the same city. In most cities there is, of course, a difference in the standards of living in the different localities, and what is possible in the homes of one district is not possible in the homes of another. If the household arts instruction is to reach the home, this difference must be recognized in the work that is given.

Referring to the necessity for this method of instruction a writer in the *Journal of Home Economics*, the official organ of the household arts movement, says, "A girl may learn at school to make all the dishes found in the average cook book of 500 pages, which could really be condensed into a book of 50 pages, and yet not be able to get even the simplest

¹ *Journal of Home Economics*, December, 1914.

breakfast on the table in a proper condition for service in a reasonable period of time.”¹

Suppose the object in view is the preparation of breakfasts. A series of very short unit courses is given on the preparation of the different foods that compose the ordinary breakfast, such as cereals, toast, beverages, eggs, bacon. At the conclusion of this series each girl is given a different menu, and prepares a complete breakfast. If this entails overnight preparation, the girl goes into the kitchen after school at four o'clock the night before. In one case the table was set the night before, and twenty girls served twenty different breakfasts and cleared away during the hour and a half allotted for the lesson. Of course the adoption of a method of this character presents difficulties, and would involve almost a revolution in much of the traditional practice of our household arts classes, but the difficulties in the way are no greater than those that confronted the pioneers in the introduction of the subject into the schools. Probably the main difficulty is the disposal of the product, but even this can be overcome. In many schools there are scores of children who would benefit by a substantial breakfast or lunch. Light lunches can be prepared for the teachers, and others, and sold at cost, and many other methods would suggest themselves once the scheme were adopted.

Another method of giving practice in working in family quantities was adopted in some of the Boston schools during the year 1914. Special attention was paid to luncheon work in the eighth grade. Each week, one eighth grade class attends the household arts department for four consecutive hours, and prepares, serves, and clears a meal. The classes are divided into sections of ten, so that the girls may have

¹ *Journal of Home Economics*, October, 1915.

the opportunity to work with larger quantities and receive more attention during the work. Menus are studied during the year, with special reference to cost and food value, and these luncheons give the girls the opportunity to put this knowledge to practical use. A few days before the luncheon a meeting is held, at the noon period, at which the girls discuss their choice of menu, being expected to keep within the limit of one and a half dollars for eight people. Two girls are appointed to do the buying, and are held responsible for supplies. Six girls sit at the table for luncheon. One acts as waitress and one as assistant waitress. The principal of the school usually attends as a guest. Menus and place cards are made by the girls.¹ This subject will be further dealt with in connection with the high schools.

Enough has now been said to show that the household arts instruction in our elementary schools is in need of improvement and that the time has come to subject the methods and organization adopted to close scrutiny with the view of making them meet present-day demands.

Summary of improvements needed. The lines on which these improvements should take place may be summarized as follows :

(1) Sewing and plain needlework should be placed in every school for girls from the earliest grades. This instruction should be given a decidedly practical turn, meet the needs of the district, and include mending and repairing as well as making.

(2) Sewing, cookery, and general household management should form part of the curriculum in the training school for teachers so that all grade teachers may be able to teach these subjects to at least the girls of the first six grades. The sub-

¹ Report of the Superintendent of Schools, Boston, 1914.

jects should be regarded as an integral part of the regular training course, and not as something special and foreign to it. In this training, special attention should be given to those forms of the work which can be taught without elaborate equipment.

(3) The special teacher of the household arts should be required to have some household experience as a background, just as teachers of trade subjects are required to have had experience of the trade they teach. While in service, they should be given time and opportunity to make themselves acquainted with the needs of the district in which they work, in order that they may adapt their teaching to meet those needs.

(4) The experimental and scientific method of teaching the subject should be subordinated to the practical, and the family meal taken as the basis of the instruction.

(5) A new type of equipment is required in order that general household management may be taught in addition to cookery.

(6) The methods of teaching should be changed with a view of eliminating waste of time, cooking in microscopic quantities, and every means should be taken to develop initiative, independence, and self-reliance and the ability to take temporary charge of the home should the necessity arise.

CHAPTER III

HOUSEHOLD ARTS INSTRUCTION IN HIGH SCHOOLS

- I. Obstacles to household arts in high schools.
- II. Center system not common.
- III. Unsuitable equipment.
- IV. Model apartments for teaching household arts.
- V. Cooking in family quantities.
- VI. Household arts instruction without special equipment.
- VII. Spending of money one of woman's chief functions.
- VIII. Two kinds of household arts instruction needed.
- IX. Modern methods.

Obstacles to household arts in high schools. The problem of effective household arts instruction is still more complicated in the high schools than it is in the elementary schools. This may be attributable to the following reasons :

Girls entering high schools without knowledge of household arts. Owing to the comparatively limited adoption of these subjects, many girls enter the high schools without any previous training in the household arts. In the ordinary subjects of the curriculum these girls rank with the others, but when it comes to the household arts, a different classification has to be made. In the case of large high schools it is often possible to place the girls who have had no previous training in a class by themselves, but in the small high school this is not possible, and girls are found who have had one, two, or three years' previous training, working with those who have had none. In such instances the problem must be solved by the household arts teacher herself. In many

cases she will have to make two divisions of her class. In others it may be possible to avoid this. A rapid review of the instruction given in the elementary school will not as a rule do any harm to the high school student who has previously taken the work, and the girl who has not, particularly if she has had home experience, will get so in touch with the work from this review that she may be able to gather up the threads and keep pace with the others.

The high school a college preparatory school. The American high school has long been regarded as a college preparatory school. The influence of the college upon it has in the past almost entirely determined its courses of study, and all students, entirely regardless of whether they were to enter college or not, were forced to take a course the methods and purposes of which were to facilitate entrance into an institution whose doors they never intended to darken! The student who wishes to enter college has still to be reckoned with. In connection with household arts instruction there are, for these girls, two possible courses. All training may be postponed until the girl enters college, or one or two years of household arts instruction may be given as part of the college preparatory course. The extent to which the latter can be done depends, of course, upon the recognition given by the college to the work done in household arts in the high school, and fortunately there is a decided tendency on the part of the colleges to allow a fair amount of credit.

“ In 1912 of 203 colleges giving the A.B. degree, not one of them prescribed that household science must be offered for admission ; but seventy-nine of these colleges will accept household science if offered, and ten others will consider its acceptance. In other words, eighty-nine out of 203 colleges recog-

nize this subject, as now taught in high schools, as of sufficient educational worth to give it recognition alongside the older academic studies as authorizing entrance upon a college course of standing, leading to the A.B. degree. Of the 114 colleges not recognizing household science for entrance, forty-five accept only men students, so that only sixty-nine of 158 academic institutions maintain a negative attitude, *i.e.*, fifty-six per cent recognize household science for admission. . . . The amount of weight given to household science in the usual requirement of high school studies is also significant. Of the seventy-nine A.B. colleges accepting household economics for admission, thirty-one recognize not more than one unit, eighteen accept one and a half or two units, nine accept three, and twenty-one accept three and a half or four units or more. Only sixty-five of the 203 A.B. colleges do not recognize one or more vocational subjects for entrance and certain of the sixty-five will consider such subjects.”¹

Even if a girl enters the high school with the express purpose of going to college, many circumstances may arise to prevent the accomplishment of that purpose, and if the plan be adopted of postponing all instruction till the college is reached, that girl will have been deprived of essential instruction in the household arts. The better plan, then, seems to be that at least one, and if possible two, years of such instruction be included in the four-year college preparatory course.

The high school a finishing school. The high school is also a finishing school, and the tendency for it to become so is more and more apparent. It is fast becoming recog-

¹ “College Entrance Requirements.” United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1913, No. 7.

nized that the high school must fit for all lines of activity—household, industrial, commercial, and agricultural,—and that in addition to preparing the one tenth for college, it must also give definite vocational training to the nine tenths that never go educationally beyond its walls. “We have been running our schools for a long time with a very incomplete shipping department. Our aim has been to ship all of our product to the college. We have sifted out about ninety per cent as culls, thrown them upon the waste heap, and packed the chosen ten per cent in de luxe wrappers of sheep skin and labeled them ‘for college entrance.’ The ninety per cent now demands attention. The waste product must be turned into profit.”¹ If this ninety per cent is to receive adequate attention, other means must be taken than the usual four-year course now provided, as a large number of the girls leave before the completion of that course. “In our city high schools, for one hundred girls entering there are only seventy-five boys. During the high school course the boys are eliminated more rapidly, so that in the last year there are sixty per cent more girls than boys. Of one hundred girls in the first-year class thirty have left before the second year, twenty-five more before the third, and fourteen more before the fourth. Roughly a third of each class leave before reaching the next higher class.”² These facts and tendencies which are general throughout the country have led to the establishment of two-year courses in which the aim is distinctly vocational.

Not cultural or necessary. There are, of course, still some who object to the introduction of the household arts into

¹ Davis, Jesse Buttrick, A.B., *Vocational and Moral Guidance*.

² “The Elimination of Pupils from School.” United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1907, No. 4.

the high school. It is contended by some that the subject is not cultural and therefore should have no place in the curriculum of the high school. "We have too long divided labor into mental and manual, assuming that although both were necessary to society they were not both necessary to the same individual."¹ This view is rapidly disappearing, as is shown by the number of colleges that are prepared to give entrance credit. Others contend that the high school curriculum is already overcrowded and that it is not necessary to introduce this new subject, as the girls who enter the high school are from fairly well-to-do homes, the mothers of which are able to teach the subject to their own girls. But the day when girls were apprenticed to their mothers is past, and according to all appearances will never return. Even if the mothers were willing, they are generally not able to give such instruction. There has arisen a body of new knowledge; the demands of the twentieth century have entirely changed the character of the housekeeping, and the woman now needs a new kind of knowledge. Her function has become the selection of goods and the spending of money, and wise selection and economical expenditure depend upon many principles which have not hitherto been taught in our schools. "We no longer share the conception of a woman's whole duty held by our grandmothers. We do not applaud the mother or daughter who spends long hours in the kitchen, or who revels in turning the whole house upside down and inside out in that most bewildering and least methodical of all human inconveniences — the spring cleaning."

There is also needed adequate knowledge concerning the

¹ "Vocational Guidance." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 14.

rearing of children, and this is not usually given to the girl by her mother. Of the two million children born annually, one in six dies before the end of the first year; one in three by the end of the fifth year — due solely to ignorance on the part of those responsible for the feeding of the child.¹ The only way this infant mortality can be lessened is by adequate knowledge which must be given to the girl before she leaves the high school. This knowledge is vital if our human resources are to be conserved.

The principal of a Massachusetts high school, who was considering the introduction of a course in household arts, recently put a series of questions to the girls attending his school. The experiment is thus described: "Twenty-six girls, members of the same class, were given a list of thirty questions. These questions bore reference to the girls' knowledge of household duties and the answers proved decidedly entertaining. Twelve of the twenty-six said they could make bread, eighteen could make cake, and all could make candy. Twenty-two girls had built a kitchen fire, twenty could cook beefsteak, and twenty asserted that they had cooked a full meal. It is disappointing to learn that not one girl of the entire twenty-six knew why new bread is not a healthful article of food, nor could twenty-four of them tell what the trap to a sink is. The making of starch was understood by twenty of the class, and sixteen said they could iron their collars and cuffs. Twenty girls could mend their clothes — at least that is what they claimed, — and seventeen had made shirt waists. When it came to trimming hats, there were thirteen girls who knew how, and thirteen who didn't know and hadn't tried to learn.

¹ "The Education of the Girl." Wisconsin State Board of Industrial Education, Bulletin, 1912, No. 4.

"The principal who framed this list of questions considers the answers a fair exposition of the domestic knowledge of the average high school girl. He asked the questions with a definite object in view. He wanted to be certain that domestic science was an advisable addition to the school studies. After the answers to his thirty questions were thoroughly considered he admitted that there would be no delay in establishing the new course. Perhaps it was diplomatic on the part of the principal to avoid all mention of the true cause of the ignorance of the class as a whole — lack of home training and home encouragement."

It will thus be seen that household arts instruction in the high school cannot be considered as unnecessary. That the average high school curriculum is overcrowded is true, but relief should not be sought by the omission of a subject so vital as the household arts, but rather in pruning down to essentials other subjects in the curriculum.

The center system not common. The center system so largely adopted in connection with elementary schools is not generally adopted by high schools. Each school has its own equipment, and none but the students of the school are usually admitted. In the smaller towns in the various provinces of Canada the high school centers are also used for the children of the public schools, as by this means the whole time of a special teacher is employed and the room is used as much as any other classroom. While the equipment is the same for public and high schools, the course of study is, of course, different.

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1 "The Educational Bulletin

THE SINK FOR GIRLS

High School of Practical Household Arts found that the sink in the room is discarded and is planned to be as near as possible. As a big stove occupies the room, the girls step from the sink, thus conserving the theory of the principal of bread and calling to make it till she can do so, talking over her shoulder: "and go on to the next. About provisions in the three kitchen are charged to the city, as the lunch room. The school lunch—it is an educational lunch—to the lunch counter and is a waste of material and waste."

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cation, in describing its visit to the High School of Practical Arts, Boston, says: "The Commission found that the old form of gas-stove burner placed around the room is discarded in this school, as the equipment is planned to be as nearly like the home equipment as possible. As a big stove could not be obtained, four ordinary ones were placed together in the middle of the room, so that the girls step from the table to the stove and over to the sink, thus conserving energy by saving steps. The theory of the principal is that teaching a girl to make a loaf of bread and calling it a lesson does not work. She has to make it till she can do it like playing the piano while talking over her shoulder; you can't teach it like a lesson and go on to the next. About \$350 a month is spent for provisions in the three kitchens of this school but this is not charged to the city, as the articles cooked are sold in the lunch room. The school does not cater for the lunch — it is an educational by-product and is sent down to the lunch counter and is sold for enough to cover the cost of material and waste."¹

Model apartments for teaching household arts. There are two marked tendencies in household arts equipment for high schools. The first is to provide a complete suite of rooms so that the instruction may be comprehensive, and include all the usual household activities, and the second is to include the school lunch room in the accommodations provided. The household arts are being leavened with the demand for real vocational instruction, and as this demand becomes more insistent, and as the girls are occupied with real projects, the school lunch room will become more and more a necessary adjunct to the effective

¹ Report of Royal Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, Ottawa, 1913.

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WORK IN THE MODEL KITCHEN — WASHINGTON IRVING HIGH SCHOOL, NEW YORK.

teaching of the household arts. Whether viewed educationally or practically, the household arts will never be effectively taught until a real practical field is provided and the present largely artificial conditions removed.

There is, however, a danger that these model apartments may become just as artificial as the school kitchens which they supplant. Another step must be taken before the conditions become actual. The girls must really live in these apartments and perform the duties of the household, as they occur from day to day. The ordinary model flat has a tendency to become cold and cheerless, as it is seldom lived in. One or two model apartments that are used in different communities will now be described.

*Washington Irving High School, New York.*¹ This apartment is of a somewhat different type from that ordinarily used and offers useful suggestions. The quarters were provided by dividing a large room about 50 feet by 20 feet into the following rooms: bathroom, kitchen, pantry, dining-room, living room, bedroom, and nursery. The walls are made of composition board easily removed, so that the wall covering may be changed. There are two or more sets of furnishings for each room to suit the different color schemes. This method allows more attention to be given to furnishing and decoration than is possible in the usual type of apartment. All are open at the front facing a recitation room. The different rooms will now be described in detail.

The living room is nine feet wide, and is provided with three sets of furniture — oak, mahogany, and green wicker. There are three plain rugs, two of mixed colors, four changes of wall coverings, and six sets of hangings. With these

¹ *Industrial Arts Magazine*, May, 1914.

furnishings six different combinations of contrasted harmonies and four of analogous harmonies are made. The possibilities of a method of this kind in teaching household furnishing and decoration, it will be seen, are almost endless, and points of contact and correlation with other school subjects which could not be otherwise secured are offered by it. Where the school is a mixed school, the manual training department can be made of great service in furnishing, equipping, and decorating rooms of this character.

The dining-room is about the same size as the living room and is separated from it by a collapsible door, allowing the two rooms to be thrown into one when the necessity arises. Because of this close connection the color schemes of the two rooms are harmonized. Sets of mahogany and oak furniture including serving table and china closet are provided. False windows are provided in most of the rooms in order to show their proper treatment with curtains.

The nursery, seven and a half feet wide, is provided with a child's set of furniture consisting of crib, bureau, table, chair, and washstand. The rug is washable. There are also a child's bathtub and four properly dressed dolls representing children of different ages, from less than a year to four years old. These are used in the lessons on the care and feeding of children. This room is decorated with a frieze about two feet in width, depicting scenes of child life and placed low enough to be readily seen by children.

The bedroom, about seven feet wide, is provided with two sets of furniture. One consists of a natural ash bureau, chair, brass bedstead, and wicker shirt-waist box. The other is of white enamel. This is not a sunny room, and color schemes are used which increase the illumination under artificial light.

The pantry is four and a half feet wide and is provided with the usual closets and shelves and a full complement of dishes. Swing doors are provided communicating with both kitchen and dining-room.

The kitchen, eight feet wide, is provided with a combined kitchen cabinet and folding table near the sink and a small table near the pantry. A gas range and a fireless cooker are provided, and the floor is covered with linoleum, which is durable and easily cleaned.

The bathroom is four feet four inches wide and is furnished with the usual bathroom fittings. The rugs, walls, and floor are washable.

A few words as to the curriculum of this school appropriately come in here. The girls are first taught the proper proportion of the income that should be allowed for the various fixed expenses. Attention is paid to buying. The girls are taught that they should know what they really need, standard qualities and prices, and where the goods may be obtained. Sanitation in regard to waste pipes, soil pipes, and house drainage is taken up, and the construction and use of a trap are explained. Much attention is paid to the feeding and care of children, the special purpose of the course here being the training of the girl for efficient motherhood. The following subjects in home nursing are briefly considered: symptoms of contagious diseases, symptoms of child's diseases not contagious, care of the sick room and the patient, changing the bedding and clothing, and first aid to the injured. The girls prepare complete meals, and serve them in the correct manner. Much attention is paid to furnishing and house decoration. A term's work in household arts consists of five months, and of this two months are devoted to work in the model apartment. There

are five forty-five minute periods each week. The average number in a class is thirty-two, which of course is far too many. It will be seen from the above brief outline that the work in household arts at this school consists of much more than the traditional cookery lessons, and the tendency thus shown is becoming general throughout the country.

Winthrop Normal and Industrial College, Rock Hill, South Carolina. This institution has a practice house on the college campus. Though this college is of somewhat higher grade than the ordinary high school, the furnishing of its cottage and its organization offer suggestions, particularly in the direction of occupancy by the girls, thus making a real home out of what tends to be a place of demonstration only. The furnishings are simple and inexpensive, consisting of mission furniture, simple rugs, and white iron bedsteads similar to those used in the dormitories. Each senior student has two periods of eight days each in the practice house, and during this time she actually lives in the house with an instructor, going over to the college for the regular classes just as she would from her own home. Each group consists of eight girls and is divided into cooks and housekeepers. The chief cook has charge of the dining-room, kitchen, pantry, etc., with assistants under her. The chief housekeeper and her assistants have charge of the remainder of the house. Each girl knows her own work, and there is a system of alternation, so that at the conclusion of the eight-day period each girl has completed the whole work of the house, including even the care of plants and chickens. The girls plan the menus and entertain visitors to dinner on Sunday, and the chief cook and housekeeper are hostesses and preside. The cook's two assistants serve the meal,

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DEMONSTRATION IN CANNING — HENRY D. COOKE SCHOOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.
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simply rising from the table to do so, thus showing how a meal can be properly served where there is no maid.¹

These two types of apartments and others to be described later show that the plan is quite feasible when properly organized, and that there are certain branches of household arts which cannot be effectively taught by any other means.

Cooking in family quantities. Much that has been said in the chapter on elementary schools with reference to the preparation of the complete meal and cooking in family quantities applies here also, but the greater maturity of the girls, their nearness to the actual assumption of household responsibilities, and the longer time given to the work make it possible to devote much more attention to this feature of the work. There are two main obstacles to the adoption of this plan, first the disinclination of the teacher trained to give instruction along traditional lines, and, secondly, the difficulty of disposing of the products when large quantities are used. When the household arts teachers are prepared to devote as much thought to these questions as they have devoted to some others, other and perhaps more satisfactory ways of solving these problems will be discovered than those that have already been found. Even with the almost microscopic quantities now used there is often outcry amongst school trustees at the cost, and the problem resolves itself into one of securing quantity results at the small-portion cost.

Methods in Montclair, New Jersey. Some cities have apparently solved the problem by making an alliance with the home. In Montclair, New Jersey, "on the day when bread-

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 36.

The Lucy Flower Technical High School, Chicago. This school has a cafeteria in connection with it which is operated by a group of girls who buy all the materials required, plan the preparation and serving of the food, and keep all the necessary business records. At the end of the term the operators are expected to show a slight profit, which is expended in some labor-saving device for the kitchen. The girl in charge for a certain week purchases the material in whatever part of the town she wishes. A second lunch room is maintained for the girls of the seventh and eighth grades, and this is also managed by one of the girls in training. The business-like way in which these girls go about their work and the thorough understanding they have of all that they are doing are worthy of the highest praise.

In the cafeterias of the Tacoma (Washington) high school every third-term girl has three weeks' practice in large-quantity cooking, in addition to three weeks' experience in preparing noon lunches for the teachers.

Household arts instruction without special equipment. Teachers and many educational authorities hold the opinion that no effective instruction can be given in the household arts without an elaborate equipment, but high schools that have no separate household arts department may provide instruction closely related to the homes through the medium of other subjects already in the curriculum, such as chemistry, art, economics, biology, and physics. There are many features of the work not now touched upon which could be given adequate treatment by this method.

"The chemistry course offered in the Los Angeles high school is part of the home economics curriculum. This one-year course is designed especially for girls, and its purpose is to train them to be intelligent and efficient homemakers.

To this end an attempt is made to develop a scientific attitude which will enable them to judge intelligently of household articles and supplies, independently of the claims of the manufacturers. It includes a semester's work in the third year as follows: a brief study of the principles of inorganic chemistry with special reference to physical and chemical changes, the atmosphere, water, fuels, and illuminants. Emphasis is placed on those parts of the subject having direct application in the home. A second semester's work is given in the senior year as follows: simple chemistry, food constituents, food values, and relative costs; food adulterants, common poisons and their antidotes; soaps and cleaning compounds; examination and care of textiles; dyes and mordants."¹

Spending of money one of woman's chief functions. One of the chief functions of woman to-day is the spending of money and the selection of goods, and in very few of the household arts classes throughout the country are these changed functions of the woman recognized, and adequate attention given to those economic matters which vitally concern the household and the conservation of the income. For these reasons it would be advisable to introduce into high school household arts classes an elementary course in what perhaps might be described as applied economics concerned with the earning, spending, and saving of money.

Professor L. D. Harvey, President of Stout Institute, Menominie, Wisconsin, in describing such a course, says: "The value of a broad training that will fit women to discharge the business of their household, that will assure them adequate results for money expended, and give them

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 37.

better appreciation of values cannot be too strongly urged. The proper apportioning of the income among the different lines of household expenditure, the systematic keeping of household accounts, the selection of material for the household, the organization and division of labor are all topics that should be considered in their economic relation to the management of the household.”¹

In the course above referred to the spending of money is discussed under the following headings :

- I. Rights of the purchaser.
 - (a) To buy articles that are as represented.
 - (b) To buy articles uncontaminated by filth or disease germs.
 - (c) To buy articles that are not produced under unhappy conditions capable of amelioration.
- II. Rights of the producer.
 - (a) To produce articles under the best conditions possible.
 - (b) To produce articles of a high standard of excellence.
- III. Some typical purchasers.
 - (a) Ignorant of conditions of production.
 - (b) Indifferent to conditions of production.
 - (c) Unable to find out true conditions of production.
 - (d) Lacking any intelligent study of the art of buying.
- IV. Principles to guide the purchaser.
 - (a) Relation of the cost of living to the various lines of outlay.
 - (b) Relation of amount of expenses to the size of the family pocketbook.
 - (c) The responsibility of the purchaser to the producer.

¹ Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1911, Vol. I. Washington.

- (d) The responsibility of the purchaser for the health, comfort, happiness, and character of the individual members of the family.¹

Though little attention has as yet been paid to this branch of the subject in the high schools, there are several courses of a broad type given in different universities of the country, and as educational reforms are sometimes brought about by influences generated from the top, there is hope that, in the not distant future, adequate attention will be given to these vital topics in our high schools. Among the most notable of these university courses may be mentioned "The Household as an Economic Agent" at the University of California, and "The Economic Position of Women" at the University of Chicago. The mere outline of the latter course is almost a liberal education in itself, and it offers to the teacher anxious to become acquainted with the ramifications of her subject an almost invaluable list of references.²

Two kinds of household arts instruction needed. There are two kinds of household arts instruction, and in the organization of courses we must distinguish rather sharply between them. First there is the usual type generally given in our high schools designed to teach the girl to appreciate and use the best things and methods in her own home, and to give a certain measure of what is still called, for want of a better name, "culture." The aim of the second kind of instruction is to prepare the girl to earn her living in some trade or profession which has grown out of the duties formerly performed in the home, such as trade

¹ Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1911, Vol. I. Washington.

² "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 38.

cooking, the various needle trades, nursing, and management of various institutions. Up to within recent years the dominating aim of the four-year course was cultural, and any technique or skill acquired was looked upon largely as a by-product, desirable but not essential. Its purpose is now being reconsidered and the vocational aspects are being stressed, particularly in the last two years. In addition to this, two-year courses are being introduced, the avowed aim of which is definitely vocational, though always associated with a certain amount of related academic work. Whether these two-year vocational courses should be placed in the high school or whether they should be relegated to special schools is not yet decided by educational experts. Both tendencies are apparent.

Modern methods. *Lucy Flower Technical High School, Chicago.* A school recently established for the purpose of carrying out the more modern ideas with reference to the education of girls is the Lucy L. Flower Technical High School for Girls, Chicago, which was opened in September, 1911. The usual four-year course is offered, consisting in brief of the following subjects:

1. Household science, including laundry work, house sanitation and management, and household accounts; intensified training is given to those who wish to become institute workers, managers of kitchens and lunch rooms, invalid dietitians, and emergency workers.

2. Household arts, including plain sewing, millinery, embroidery, lace making, infants' and children's clothing, care of hospital and hotel linen, and interior decoration; intensified training is given to those who wish to fit themselves for supervising and special work; power and foot machines are used.

3. Science, including chemistry and biology, taught with a view to understanding the needs and experience of daily life, as well as with the idea of gaining an insight into scientific method and theory.

4. Art with specialized work in costume, millinery, and embroidery designing.

5. English, both utilitarian and cultural.

6. Applied mathematics.

7. Geography, history, and civics with special reference to the needs of women in Chicago.

8. Physical education and physiology with the idea of improving health and of giving recreation and training in social requirements.

9. Music as a recreational and cultural study.

Art, household art, and household science are required through the first two years of the four-year course, and in these and the other subjects, where the needs of the girl demand no differentiation, the instruction is on the same lines as that given in the other high schools of the city. At the beginning of the third year the pupil may elect as a major subject either art (composition and design), household art, or household science, and to this she devotes ten periods per week, or a quarter of her whole school time for the next two years. She continues to study English and other cultural subjects. American history and civics are required of all students in the fourth year; a year each in physics and chemistry is required of those who elect household science as their major subject. Art, household science, and household art are open to those who have selected other major subjects for the last two years of their course.

Household arts instruction is given in the academic and cosmopolitan high schools of the city, and it may be asked

how the teaching here differs from that given in the Lucy Flower school. In the ordinary high school the time table requires four periods of laboratory practice, and three periods of prepared recitation each week. Household science is generally taken the first year, household arts the second year, household science again the third year, and household arts the fourth year. The Lucy Flower school requires five periods per week in both subjects for two years in the four-year course before choice is made of the major subject to be studied during the remaining years in the school.

The stress during these early years is placed upon the practice rather than on the theory or the related science. Its aim is admittedly technical, and it is intended to be vocational in the best sense of the word. The specialization provided for in the third and fourth years leads those who have artistic taste and ability to various forms of handicraft, such as costume designing. The girl who can sew well and has the ability to make tasteful and well-fitting garments has in her hands a sure means of earning a living.

Along the cooking side a girl may fit herself to assist in managing a lunch room or institution kitchen. Much of this training is given through the medium of the lunch room already referred to, and the girl who can organize and serve a lunch satisfactorily to one hundred or 150 pupils has already a trade asset in her fingers. The girls have managed this so successfully that they have reduced the cost of a single substantial lunch to about ten and a half cents and have purchased out of the profits all the glass, silver, china, and kitchen utensils in use.

Along the lines of domestic art all the curtains and table

linen used are made by the sewing classes, and through co-operation with the parental school the power machine room receives large quantities of material which is made up into sheets, pillow cases, towels, aprons, blouses, and night shirts. Undergarments and wash dresses are made for the children's aid society. The finished articles are handed back to the society for distribution to children who would be unable to attend school if clothing was not provided for them.

The second striking feature of the school is the two-year course which is offered. The work for the first year in this course is identical with that of the first year in the four-year course. A major subject is chosen at the end of the first year, and at present only two choices are possible, household arts and household science, though as the school develops it is intended to offer courses in salesmanship, typesetting, boxmaking, and other women's industries. The requirements in English, art, and the sciences are, of course, considerably less than those of the four-year course, and no foreign language is offered. The course is designed to enable a girl to equip herself with marketable skill and be fit for industrial employment by the end of the second year.

In addition to the above courses of high school grade the school has a prevocational department which is dealing with the problems of the retarded girl in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. For these, half year, one year, and one and a half year courses are organized. These courses are taken by girls who need training for immediate self-support. The courses offered are cookery, needlework, and machine sewing, with other trade work as required. Along with the trade subjects instruction is given in English, arithmetic, and other academic subjects. No girl less than fourteen

years of age is admitted from the fourth and fifth grades and none from grades six and seven less than fifteen.¹

From the above brief description it will be seen that this school is attempting to solve three problems vital to the efficiency of industrial education for girls no less than for boys. These problems are: (1) To provide a four-year course of training definitely vocational and definitely cultural for those girls whose economic circumstances permit them to stay that length of time in school. (2) To provide a two-year course for girls of high school grade who are able to spend only two years in school after the completion of the elementary course. This two-year course must result in immediate wage-earning ability. (3) To give short intensive courses to that large class of girls who are not able to enter a high school but who must go to work at the earliest possible moment.

*Armstrong Manual Training High School, Washington, D. C.*² This school provides both two and four year courses for girls and boys. The work provided for girls in addition to the usual academic subjects is sewing, cookery, dress-making, millinery, and laundry work. This is a school for negroes, but contains many practical features which are well worthy of imitation in all schools that profess to give vocational training. It is open to two classes of pupils: first, those who have finished the eight years in the grammar schools; second, any colored person 16 years of age or over who desires special trade instruction. The vocational courses offered are intensely practical. In plain sewing and dressmaking the girls do real work, furnishing the

¹ *School Review*, November, 1914.

² Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 1910. Department Bureau of Labor, Washington.

material themselves, and keep the product or sell it as they desire. They also have the opportunity of doing their own laundry work in the school. The school often gets requests from families for girls to go into their homes to do plain sewing or dressmaking. The girls often spend in this way several weeks at a time away from school. For such time they are credited on their school year, and are considered present in school. The millinery course aims to fit girls as helpers and preparers in trade shops. They do all the work of making, trimming, and renovating hats.

The laundry department prepares the girls to do scientific laundry work, while the course in domestic science fits for domestic service as well as for home duties. A number of the girls enter domestic service upon graduation. They receive instruction in all kinds of cooking from preparing the simplest dishes to planning and serving a full course dinner. They serve noon lunches daily to the teachers and pupils of the school. I remember with great pleasure the luncheon served when I visited this school. The girls bought the provisions in the market, cooked the meal, and served it in the most efficient manner. Much of the current criticism applied to many schools certainly has no application here.

In conclusion it may be said that the high schools have a great part to play in what may be called the vocationalization of household arts instruction. This they are recognizing, and in different parts of the country various means are being taken to bring about that close connection between the instruction of the school and the requirements of home and industry which must be established if the subject is to justify its position in the schools.

CHAPTER IV

HOUSEHOLD ARTS INSTRUCTION IN THE HOME

- I. Opportunities offered in the home.
- II. The coöperation of the parent.
- III. School credit for work in the home.

It has already been pointed out that one of the most serious defects in much of the household arts instruction is the lack of vital connection with the living home. That industrial education in mechanical pursuits is ineffective without adequate practice, and actual work under shop conditions has long been admitted, but it is doubtful whether even yet the same principle is regarded as applicable to household arts instruction. In this subject the living actual home, with all its varying conditions, is the workshop, and many thoughtful advocates of household arts instruction are convinced that until actual practice can be obtained in this workshop our instruction will fall far short of its goal.

Opportunities offered in the home. "Until we recognize the limitations of the school, and resolutely turn our attention to the opportunities offered in the home for supplementing school work, our educational system as it concerns household arts courses will always be defective, visionary, and open to the criticism that we are not producing capable and thrifty homemakers. No school will ever take the place of the home, and so long as the home shifts its responsibility for physical, moral, and ethical training to the shoul-

ders of young women who teach for a period of from but three to five years, and who are lacking in the practical knowledge of homemaking, our educational system will continue to be the subject of carping criticism from those who do not understand that economic conditions have been transformed in the last decade, and that while homemaking is no longer taught at home, the principles of homemaking taught at school must be practiced again and again in a real home, if the business of homemaking is to be learned. Why not secure that practice in the pupil's own home? ”¹

The coöperation of the parent. Difficult as the problem was of solution in regard to factories and workshops, it is still more so in regard to the home, but the difficulties are not insuperable. That this connection is desirable all are agreed, but there is considerable difference of opinion as to how it is to be best brought about. It is but a truism to say that the success of the school depends very largely upon the coöperation of the parent with the teacher, but nowhere is that truism more applicable than in the case of instruction in household arts, and it is probably true that no subject has had less of it.

If this home connection is to be secured, the first step must be to obtain the active coöperation of the parent, which in this case means the mother. The teacher of household arts has a greater opportunity to secure this coöperation than the teacher of other subjects. In geography, arithmetic, etc., there is often no ground common to both mother and daughter, but in connection with household arts this is not the case. Generally speaking, the mothers are afraid of the household arts teachers. The teachers will do more effective work if they get to know the

¹ *Journal of Home Economics*, October, 1915.

mothers, but how to obtain this necessary knowledge is in many cases a difficult problem. Where the "center system" is adopted a teacher may have fifteen classes of twenty-four pupils for one and a half hours each week. In the high school where the teacher instructs only the pupils from the one school the problem is somewhat easier, though even there it is not easy of solution. Generally it may be said that a system of actual visitation of the homes is impracticable, though much can be done in this direction by a teacher who is willing to give up her "spare time" to the work. The schools have changed in their function and broadened in their scope, and it is desirable that teachers should develop themselves in conformity with modern ideas of the function of the school.

Parent-teachers' associations. The first step for the teacher to take is the formation of a parent-teachers' association, in conjunction with the other teachers of the school. In some cases this has taken the form of a "Home Economics Club," but it is found that more parents are induced to meet, if the objects of the association are general, and concern the whole welfare of the child than if the association is formed to deal with a special subject. After the association has been organized it may be found possible and desirable in some cases to form a household arts committee, which the teacher might make use of in discussing her special problems. Here the teacher may get to know, not only the problems of the girl but also what is perhaps more important, the problems of the mother. She may learn how to make her teaching of real help in the home kitchen. The mother on her part will become more sympathetic towards the work of the teacher. She will be less inclined to drive the girl out of the kitchen when she wants to practice.

Parent-teachers' associations are being organized throughout the country in affiliation with the National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teachers' Associations. This congress was formed in 1897 and is a national organization with state branches in about thirty states, with several hundred local mothers' circles, parent-teachers' associations, and other affiliated organizations which all together embrace nearly one hundred thousand members.¹ The formation of these associations is not a difficult matter. The first requirement is an enthusiastic teacher who has been convinced that such an association is necessary.

At the first meeting a simple constitution should be drawn up. The following is suggested by the National Congress:

Article 1. Object and membership. The object of this organization shall be to bring the school and the home closer together, and thus work for the best good of the children. Any one interested in the welfare of childhood may become an active member.

Article 2. Name and meetings. This organization shall be called the..... of the.....School and shall meet.....

Article 3. This organization shall join the National Congress of Mothers. Dues of ten cents per member shall be forwarded to the congress in May of each year.

Article 4. Officers. The officers of this organization shall be a president, five vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer.

Article 5. Committees. There shall be standard committees on reception, mutual help, membership, and press. (To these might be added one on household arts.) The

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1915, No. 37.

president shall be ex-officio a member of all standing committees. The officers and the chairmen of all standing committees shall constitute the executive committee.

Members of the committee of the state branch of the National Congress of Mothers may sit in conference with this committee but without a vote.

At many of the meetings of these associations the girls attending the household-arts classes serve light refreshments during the interval or at the close of the meeting and this always has a good effect.

One superintendent of schools reports as follows :

"Mothers' meetings have been held in ten of the school kitchens during the past year; bread made and baked by each girl in the class is exhibited at these meetings. The teacher puts a number on each loaf of bread when it is completed, holding the name of the maker in reserve. Three of the mothers are selected as judges. The girl who has made the best shaped, the lightest, the best baked, and the finest grained loaf is considered the prize winner, although no prizes are offered. She is complimented on her splendid work and feels quite proud of her accomplishment. An informal meeting then takes place. Many of the mothers have spoken of the great help their daughters have been to them since they have attended the cooking classes. A simple collation consisting of sandwiches, small cakes, and tea made by the girls is then served."

Parents' days. The parents of the girls attending each class should be invited to visit the school two or three times a year on the day their children are at work. On such occasions the parents will see that the teachers are but human. They will see the same mistakes made as they themselves make at home. Knives and forks will be dropped,

china will be chipped, and the cake may turn out a failure. After seeing all these things the parent will come to look upon the household arts teacher in a somewhat different light, and become much more sympathetic towards the work she is doing.

Demonstrations. As a rule parents respond very readily to demonstrations given by the teacher. These may be held once a month, and should deal with the preparation of common foods. After the first demonstration the mothers themselves may be asked to suggest the subject for the next meeting. To these demonstrations the parents should be encouraged to bring their own problems for solution, and to enter into full discussions. The discussion of these problems will react on the teacher and will enable her to make her instruction more vital and real. The Saturday morning bake is an institution of many American homes, and one which puts to practical test the value of the school training. Home criticism of these experiments should be encouraged. In some schools the girls keep a notebook in which all household practice is entered and the criticism of the parent added.

Luncheons. Frequent inexpensive luncheons may be given. Menu cards may be made by the girls and the prices of the different foods should be given. Much can be done by this means to eradicate the idea, largely held at present, that household arts instruction is of no use to people with limited means, and that it is generally extravagant. Directly the parents are convinced that the teachers are as much concerned with the high cost of living as they themselves are, a point of contact will have been established which will benefit mother, daughter, and teacher.

School credit for work in the home. Notwithstanding

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the elaborate equipments in many schools, it is perfectly obvious to all who have devoted any thought to the matter that nowhere can homemaking be so successfully practiced as in the home itself, and this conviction has led to the adoption of two plans. The first is known under the general name of "home credit" and consists of giving recognition in school for certain work done at home, generally under the supervision of the mother. Funds cannot be obtained in many of the smaller towns to introduce courses in manual training, cookery, sewing, music, etc. In 1914, 382 of these small places reported to the Commissioner of Education that they had not such courses in their schools because the boards would not or could not appropriate the funds. Home work for which school credit is given in these towns may take the place of regular courses in household arts, while other cities that are well equipped for teaching these subjects give credit for outside work in order that the child may work in part under real life conditions and not entirely under the artificial conditions of the school.

The home-credit plan was not introduced primarily for instruction in household arts, but was intended to apply to any form of work done outside the school. Credit is given in many places for music, art, office work, Bible study, gardening, etc. Some schools give credit for any work done in the home, the parent being allowed to grade the pupils, while others allow credit for only such work as can be outlined and supervised by the school authorities. Concerning these two types there is considerable difference of opinion. The plan was probably first introduced by Mr. Alderman, then State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Oregon, who lectured on the subject from the Pacific to the Atlantic.

Objections to home credit. The home-credit plan though strongly supported by some is not without its adverse critics. The chief criticisms offered may be enumerated as follows :

1. The standards of many of the homes in which the work will have to be carried on are low, and if the girl does the work, as she most likely will, in the same way her mother does it, old routine methods, which should be eradicated, will be perpetuated.

2. Giving credit for work in the home is apt to weaken the very thing for which the home stands — that spirit of mutual helpfulness which makes the home possible. It is offering payment for work which should be done gladly without any hope of reward.

3. Many mothers are not capable of passing judgment upon the method in which the work has been done. The Assistant Superintendent of Oregon, who was associated with the Superintendent when the plan was inaugurated, stated at the Department of Superintendence in 1914 that they would have to take back a great deal of what had been said and done relative to school credit for home work.

4. The plan places too great a temptation before the mother. It may happen that a high mark for home work may save the girl from failing to graduate, and no mother should be asked to grade her daughter's work when it may mean so much.

5. It is not possible to grade all girls alike. The easy-going mother will grade high, and equal justice to all is not done in the credit they receive.

6. The home-credit plan is no adequate substitute for laboratory equipment and skilled instruction. When introduced into cities and towns, it is apt to hinder rather than

Home credit in Franklin, Ohio. The schools in Franklin give credit for "any course that may reasonably take the place of manual training or domestic science as taught in the public schools." The home course in household arts outlined in that city is as follows:

1. A systematic course that shall include plain cooking, baking (bread, cake, and pastry), the proper care of the kitchen and utensils, and the proper setting and care of the table for meals. Such course should include the entire preparation of at least one meal a day for a definite period; the meal to have a reasonable variety from day to day. The course should include, in part at least, the purchase of the food.

2. A systematic course in sewing that shall include plain sewing, patching, mending, and darning; it must include the cutting and fitting of simple garments, and may include embroidery and fancy work.

3. The two preceding courses may be supplemented by systematic courses and training in the general care of the house, as sweeping, dusting, and scrubbing, the care of furniture, the care of the sick or of children, the care of flowers, chickens, etc.

According to this scheme, credit is given upon the recommendation of a committee of women appointed by the superintendent, and approved by the board of education or its president. Application for such courses must be made in advance to the superintendent, and all details must be arranged with his approval.

Home credit in Ames, Iowa. A very satisfactory plan has been worked out by the household economics teacher at the Iowa State College of Agriculture with help and suggestion from the Superintendent of Public Schools,

Ames, Iowa. It was thoroughly discussed in each parent-teachers' association in the town. The parents criticized freely, gave many useful suggestions, and most important of all offered their hearty coöperation. From a bulletin issued by the Superintendent the following particulars are gathered :¹

The plan was organized with the hope that it would prove an incentive for the girl to do at home some of the things she had learned in school, and thus carry into the home some new ways of working that would be the means of exchange of ideas between mother and daughter that would result beneficially to both. The following are the main regulations regarding the work :

(1) A total of two credits may be earned by home work in home economics, the value of one credit being three hundred points. These credits will apply on high school graduation.

(2) Fractional credit will be given for part work.

(3) Enough work must be done to make one credit in order to have the work apply on high school graduation.

(4) The work may extend throughout the student's four-year high school course.

(5) General work should be reported each month, records being kept each week.

(6) A grade of seventy-five per cent, or fair, is necessary for credit. The work is divided into three branches — cookery, general housework, and sewing. Two thirds credit is allowed for each, making up the total of two credits — six hundred points. In cookery the family recipe must be used (enough to serve six persons), and whenever possible a sample of the product is to be taken to the school for examination. The recipes, stating method and giving itemized cost to-

¹ *Industrial Arts Magazine*, May, 1914, and *Journal of Home Economics*, April, 1914.

gether with a statement of the guardian or parent stating that the entire work was done by the girl, must accompany each dish prepared. Blanks are provided for this purpose. In grading bread or cake a score card is used and the product is taken to the school and marked by the teacher. To the girls who are taking, or who have completed, first-year cookery one third credit — one hundred points — is given. Twenty-two dishes are suggested ; of these, ten are required, five others may be chosen from the list. The required dishes receive seven points credit, the chosen dishes six. Twenty dishes are chosen for the second year and marked in the same way.

General housework carried on for sixteen months gives the full two thirds credit ; for eight months, one third credit. The credits given for general work are twelve and a half points for one month. No credit is given unless a task is done for four weeks. The work in this branch consists of bed making, care of bedroom, helping with general housework half an hour each day and one hour on Saturday. In sewing, any work from a prescribed list may be chosen and credit is given up to two hundred points. As before, the work is divided into first and second years. All the sewing is taken to school to be judged and score cards are used for this purpose. Additional sewing and handwork may be done by arrangement with the teacher who decides the points to be given for the work.

It will be seen that the Ames plan has some decided and practical advantages over the haphazard method of any kind of work now in use in many places. The written statement required of each girl insures that she understands what she has been doing, and as the product is judged in many cases by the teacher and not by the parent, credit is allowed

for the excellence of the product and not for the time spent in its production. In the general housework the course is prescribed, but its method of performance is judged at present only by the parent. Perhaps as the course develops it may be found possible for the school to supervise this work also, or to establish standards by which the parents will be able to judge it with some degree of uniformity. The girls might also be required to make a statement describing the different operations and giving methods and reasons. One merit of this branch of the work is the required daily performance of certain tasks through a prolonged period.

Other methods. One high school has attacked the problem in another way. It is planned that the graduating class of this school shall not attend the school sessions during the month of June. Each girl will remain in her own home, taking entire charge of the expenses and general work of the household during that month, while her mother makes visits, or sits at ease and observes her daughter's efforts, rendering as little help as possible. Each girl is visited every day by one of her high school teachers. The teacher gives advice and criticism if necessary, but as far as possible no one is to interfere with the actual self-directed work of the girl.¹

The Rock Island, Illinois, High School has adopted an unusual plan in order to give practical application to the sewing. Twenty-six girls have made themselves responsible for clothing twenty-six little orphan girls in a local orphan asylum. The high school pupils visited the asylum, and each chose the girl for whom she wished to make the clothes.²

A novel plan is being worked out in Ogden, —. The last six years of the public school courses are organized with

¹ *Popular Educator*, November, 1913.

² *Manual Training and Vocational Education*, February, 1915.

a longer school day than usual, from 8.30 in the morning until 4.30 in the afternoon, divided into two sessions, one devoted to academic work and the other to industrial, social, and physical work; the academic work being put into one half day and the industrial into the other. Pupils who can show that they have better industrial, commercial, or household arts work outside the school than is offered by the school curriculum may be excused from any part of the industrial half day to take their industrial work outside the school. A mother with a large family of children may need her daughter's help for an hour or two in the morning or in the afternoon. The girl may be excused for any part of the day for a time not exceeding one and a half hours without losing any of her academic studies. Before granting this concession each case is carefully investigated, to make sure that the home has the proper attitude and that the industrial work which it offers is at least equal to that which is offered by the school. Those who cannot prove their case remain in the junior high school during the entire session of six hours. The industrial work which is done outside the school is accepted after due investigation as equal in value to that which others do in the school.¹

Such, in general, are some of the methods that are being used to remove what is admitted to be one of the chief defects in our household arts instruction. A perfectly satisfactory solution has not yet been found. Each of the plans enumerated possesses points of excellence about which there can be no dispute, and it is possible that further experimentation will evolve a plan which embodies these and eliminates the defects which educators have felt compelled to criticize adversely.

¹ Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1914. Washington.

CHAPTER V

CONTINUED EDUCATION IN HOUSEHOLD ARTS

- I. Introduction.
- II. Organized instruction outside the school.
- III. Home School of Providence, Rhode Island.
- IV. Classes for factory girls in Boston.
- V. Part-time instruction for housekeepers.
- VI. Necessity for judicious advertising.
- VII. Evening classes.
- VIII. The visiting nurse.
- IX. The visiting housekeeper.
- X. Movable schools of household arts.
- XI. Short courses.
- XII. Demonstration trains.
- XIII. Women's institutes and homemakers' conferences.
- XIV. Government bulletins.
- XV. Special agencies.
- XVI. Private organizations.

Introduction. The tendency of modern education is to lay the greatest stress on the education of the small child. The time has yet to come when educators will open their eyes to the fact that one of the great modern problems in education is woman, and how to fit her for the numerous additional duties that are devolving upon her. The schools are engaged in educating the next generation, but the present generation deserves adequate consideration if better homes and efficient living are ever to be realized. The girls, young women, and homemakers who have left the recognized schools are greater in numbers than those who are enrolled on the

school registers, and the problem of educating these is even more vital, if that be possible, than that of educating those who are actually in the schools. Continued education in household arts has some advantages over that given in the schools; there the benefit to the young girl is deferred. In the continuation school or class she is nearer to the time when she expects to be able to use the knowledge she is acquiring. She is more mature and is able to take greater advantage of the instruction offered.

Organized instruction outside the school. Various forms of continued education and extension service have been in existence for some time, and have done and are still doing excellent work. Many of these are, however, organized by voluntary associations and have been somewhat of an informal and largely inspirational character, but now organized instruction for those outside the regular school population is being formulated by many educational authorities. Federal aid is being given through the provisions of the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes bills, and several states, notably Massachusetts, are placing classes in household arts open to wage-earning women on the same footing as regards grants in aid as other industrial subjects.

Continuation classes are intended for those who are not legally obliged to attend the ordinary day school, and as a rule are open only to these. They are of two kinds — day and evening — but the modern tendency is to substitute, as far as possible, attendance in the daytime for that in the evening. Several examples of such schools and courses will now be given.

The Home School of Providence, Rhode Island.¹ This school is situated in one of the poorest and most densely

¹ Trowbridge, Ada Wilson, *Vocational Education*, Vol. 2.

populated parts of Providence. It consists of an ordinary apartment and includes hall, living room, sewing room, dining room, two bedrooms, bathroom, kitchen, and basement laundry. The school and its objects were extensively advertised in the neighborhood. When the hour for opening the school approached, it is said that the children crowded the street in front of the home so thickly, that it was impossible for teamsters to pass. No girl could be admitted under thirteen years of age, but the first week showed an enrolment of over 175 girls and an ever growing waiting list. The rooms were renovated and furnished by the pupils of the Technical High School. They selected the wall paper, planned the color scheme, selected the furniture, paint and floor stain, and made and decorated the curtains. The boys made picture frames, towel racks, ironing boards, and a cabinet for the bathroom.

Many furnishings were left for the home school girls themselves to complete. During the first weeks they hemmed tablecloths, napkins, dish towels, hung curtains and pictures, placed furniture, arranged the dishes, and became generally acquainted with the problem of cleaning and furnishing a new home. They now do all the work connected with the school except looking after the furnace. All the linen used in the school is washed and ironed by the pupils; an average of over twenty-five dozen pieces are washed and ironed each month. There are three departments in connection with the school — sewing, cooking, and general house-keeping — and a separate teacher is in charge of each. Each group consists of ten pupils, and thus a division of thirty pupils is able to attend at one time.

One division attends on Monday and Tuesday afternoons from four to six o'clock; a second, on Monday and Tuesday

evenings from 7.30 to 9.30; a third, on Wednesday and Thursday afternoons of each week, and a fifth on Friday afternoons. Friday evening is reserved for social gatherings. Sewing, housekeeping, and cookery are taken in consecutive lessons, coming back to sewing again on the fourth lesson. Each girl thus receives instruction in the work of all three departments. The sewing and cooking are of an intensely practical character and the equipment simple but adequate. The cooking is intended to give the girls a knowledge of the preparation of simple home food, and the serving of breakfasts, luncheons, and dinners to small families. The course in housekeeping includes all the ordinary household routine, and in addition talks on hygiene and on books. In hygiene the work embraces the care of the hair, teeth, complexion, and more intimate personal matters, and this experience has led the teachers to the conclusion that many things can be discussed in the home environment that it is impossible to approach adequately in the ordinary classroom.

The work of the evening division differs in many ways from that offered in the afternoons. These classes are composed of working girls who are looking forward to having homes of their own in the near future, and accordingly much attention is given to the selection of furniture, effective ways of preparing and serving meals, and simple entertaining. As a part of their work the girls fitted up an attic room, selecting and putting on the paper, painting the woodwork, finishing the floors, making the box furniture and the curtains, and framing the pictures.

The cost of materials and the proper division of income is dealt with, and as many problems as possible are given to teach the satisfaction that will follow in the practice of economy, of buying only what can be paid for, and the intelligent

joy of being inventive and resourceful. In every possible way the school has been put into direct coöperation with the homes. The care of children receives special attention, and the girls are encouraged to bring their home problems in millinery, dressmaking, or of any other kind to the teachers of the school for solution. The public library and the traveling library of the State Board of Education have supplied nearly two hundred volumes for the use of the school. A flower and vegetable garden has been planted under the direction of the supervisor of school gardens, and this is cared for by the girls. The commercial side is not neglected. The school sells its own product of bread, cakes, etc. ; and it is quite possible that some of the training so given will enable many of the young women to undertake similar work in their own homes, and thus render unnecessary their entrance into factories and the consequent neglect of the home which outside employment often brings about.

Classes for factory girls in Boston. Another method of dealing with this problem is that used in Boston, for girls employed in factories. Several employers who are convinced that training of this kind is essential to the girls in their employment, permit them to attend classes during working hours. The director of continuation schools makes the following statement regarding these classes :¹

"The school committee has rented an apartment located conveniently for the employees of several candy factories, and has equipped the apartment with such furniture as could be provided by a young couple with small means. A very competent homemaker of practical experience has been placed in charge of this apartment, and she receives from the candy

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 37.

factories groups of approximately ten girls, who are permitted to attend during working hours without loss of pay. Sessions are of two hours each, conducted twice a week. The teacher in charge is now handling five such groups. During the time when the classes are not in session the teacher visits the factories, and homes of her pupils. Instruction is intended to cover all the ordinary duties of a simple but well-managed home. These classes have been in operation for about two years and have been received with hearty support by both employers and the community."

Part-time instruction for housekeepers. In the industrial training of boys and men the greatest developments of recent years have been in the direction of "part-time" education. By this means the work of the school is closely related to that of the shop. The student is allowed to spend half the day in school and shop alternately, or in some cases alternate weeks are so spent. This plan has suggestions in it for education for the home. The home is the factory of the housekeeper, and a combined plan of practice in the home and lessons in school might be expected to produce as gratifying results in this case as part-time instruction has brought about in the other field. Great difficulties have been experienced in working out a satisfactory plan of part-time instruction in connection with the shops, difficulties of organization, control of output, one boy taking up another's job, and many others, but these have all been successfully overcome. In the case of the housekeeper no such practical difficulties exist. She can generally arrange her work so that she can leave it at stated times, to attend daytime lectures and continuation classes; and such classes have many decided advantages over the usual evening plan. There are many housekeepers who find themselves unequal to the tasks they

have undertaken, and who would be quite willing to attend classes if they were held at a convenient time. This system of daytime instruction has been tried in a few isolated places, and the success achieved warrants its extension.

In Rochester, New York, an afternoon course commencing at four o'clock in "health lessons for women" was organized. Twenty-four lessons, each an hour or so in length, were given, and included such subjects as care of the child, first aid and emergencies, prevention and recognition of disease, motherhood, nursing, making beds, bandaging, care of sick room, dietetics, nursing the invalid child, and obstetrical care. The first twelve lectures were given by a woman physician, and the second twelve by a nurse.

The Montclair experiment. The experiment conducted in Montclair, New Jersey, is worthy of note.¹ Reference has already been made to the plan adopted in this city to give the household arts instruction in the schools more direct application to the home by cooking in family quantities. It was the success of this plan which suggested the idea that classes could be organized which would directly benefit the working housekeeper. Courses in household arts had been offered previously, but had met with little success, probably owing to the fact that the housewife thinks she does not need a general course in cookery, and that she would have to spend her time in doing many things that she already knows how to do. The attendance at evening household arts classes is generally made up of young girls and prospective housekeepers. The mature housekeeper does not usually attend, though many of them are ready to admit that there are many things which they would like to learn if they could do so without wasting time.

¹ *Industrial Arts Magazine*, January, 1915.

The following circular was sent into the homes of all the pupils of the schools:

"Beginning Monday Jan. 19, 1914, the school department of Montclair will offer short unit courses in household arts for all those interested in such training. Some of the suggested courses are as follows: ten lessons each on bread, rolls, and biscuits; desserts; salads and salad dressings; canning and preserving; fancy cooking; invalid cooking; and six lessons on marketing. Each course is complete in itself. Membership in one class obliges no one to take the other courses. If the members of the class so desire, the instruction will be given in the form of demonstration lessons. The classes will meet at any hour satisfactory to the students. A small fee will be charged to cover the cost of materials. Those wishing to join are requested to give their names to Miss Bridge, Miss Hasson, or to the superintendent of schools."

Over two hundred women attended the first meeting. They divided themselves into groups, retired to different rooms, and discussed with the teachers plans for carrying on the work. The place and hour of meeting of each class was fixed to suit the wishes of the students so far as that could be done without interfering with the regular duties of the teachers. As a result of these conferences the subjects were somewhat changed and the courses became: theory of marketing and fireless cooking; marketing with practical work in cooking; salads and desserts, two courses; chemistry of foods with practical menus; bread and rolls; household routine. These courses led to the request that courses be offered for maids during the next year, and the housewives proposed to allow an additional afternoon off per week, provided their maids would use this time in taking the courses offered.

Every high school that possesses a household arts department might extend its services to the community by offering the facilities of that department to housewives at any time it is not required by the regular students. Some schools have tried the plan of permitting housewives to attend the ordinary classes in homemaking subjects held in the school, but this plan has not been generally successful. Older women are disinclined to attend classes with young girls, and moreover the type of instruction suited to the latter does not meet the necessities of the former.

Use of the factory organization. The United States Steel Company has introduced the model housekeeping center into its welfare work at the Lambert mine in the Connellsville district of Pennsylvania, and at Gary, West Virginia. The Winthrop Normal and Industrial College, Rock Hill, South Carolina, has organized work for the improvement of mill villages. This is carried on by "the special agent of mill village improvement in connection with the United States Department of Agriculture" and a special agent in charge of "home-economics extension work in rural, school, and mill communities."¹

An example of employers allowing their employees to attend such courses during working hours without loss of pay is that of the apartment for candy factory girls in Boston, previously referred to. There is much need for instruction of this kind in many industrial communities, and usually the best approach is made through the factory organization. In one instance the "cook house" was used which a cotton mill had provided for the employees to use in cooking their dinner. The vocational school secured the use of this build-

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 37.

ing for one night a week. The women were invited to meet here, and cook their own supper. Two sample menus with their cost were given on the poster which was placed in the mill. The foreman took the names of those wishing to join, and more women applied than it was possible to accommodate. The women came directly from their work and cooked their supper under the direction of the teacher. The women themselves paid the cost of material which was never over twelve cents per person. The success of the class was most pronounced, and the women asked to have the class continued permanently. The following sample menus show the kind of cookery in which these women were interested. They also show that the ordinary course in cookery would not have met their needs.

SUPPER No. 1	SUPPER No. 2
<i>Cheese pudding, Baked onions, Cold slaw, Peanut cookies, Coffee</i>	<i>Codfish in tomato sauce, Cereal muffins, Dried apricot short- cakes, Cocoa</i>
Cheese pudding.....\$0.48	Codfish in tomato sauce \$0.30
Baked onions......10	Muffins......24
Cold slaw......15	Shortcake......20
Cookies......40	Cocoa......28
Coffee......28	Fuel......08
Fuel......10	Total cost..... \$1.10
Total cost..... \$1.51	For "family" of 14, indi- vidual cost..... \$0.81
For "family" of 14, indi- vidual cost..... \$.11	

Judicious advertising. The method of bringing continuation or extension classes to the attention of the women whose attendance is desired deserves some consideration. Judicious advertising is just as necessary in educational affairs as it is in business, and the sooner educational authorities

¹ "Cooking in the Vocation School." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1915, No. 1.

recognize this, the sooner the efforts that are being put forth will meet with success.

"The unwillingness to adopt aggressive methods of advertising is a further reason for the failure of some evening industrial schools. . . . They have commonly assumed that to reach pupils they have only to make a statement in the newspapers or school department circular that certain courses are to be offered. They have seldom taken the point of view that they had education to sell, and that if they were going to do business, they would have to adopt the methods of publicity employed by such business concerns."¹

Methods in London, England. The industrial schools and classes of the London County Council are well known, and it may be useful to enumerate the advertising methods adopted by that body. Their general scheme of advertising may be stated as follows:

1. The exhibition of a notice on the whole straight side of electric cars during September, and transparent tablets fixed inside the cars for the whole of the session.
2. The issue of subject posters sixty inches by forty inches, exhibited on railway stations, various properties of the council, such as parks, fire stations, etc.
3. The exhibition of bills outside all schools, announcing the date and opening of the classes.
4. The issue of district pamphlets giving particulars of classes at all the various polytechnics, technical schools, schools of art, commercial and science centers, evening schools, and trade schools.
5. The free issue by certain of the underground electric railway companies, and the South Eastern and Chatham

¹ Short Unit Courses for Wage-earners, Bulletin 159. Department of Labor, Washington.

Railway Company of one hundred and fifty thousand pocket cards, showing the institutions on the route of their respective railways, the subjects taught, etc., and the nearest station at which to alight. Similar arrangements are made with the General Motor Omnibus Company.

6. The issue of individual school posters.

7. The issue of card bills and double-demy posters for exhibition in the elevators of electric railways, in workshops, factories, offices, and other public places.

8. The issue of prospectuses and handbills for each particular institution and evening school respectively.

9. The advertisement of technical institutions in trade journals, and art schools in art journals, and of both in the local press.

10. The issue of trade handbills for circulation among members of trade unions and federations.

11. The issue of literature, posters, syllabuses, and handbills.

12. The issue of special handbills advertising specific classes. In all, some two and a half million prospectuses, pamphlets, handbills, etc. are distributed each year.

Notwithstanding this extensive advertising, the attendance at these classes is not considered satisfactory by the authorities, but Dr. Sadler states: ¹ "I can find no country in which voluntary attendance at evening classes is so large in proportion to the adult population as it is in England and Wales. Over forty per cent of the attendance in London is females."

Advertising to reach the housewife. The above methods are particularly calculated to reach that large class of men and women who travel to and from their daily work, and are

¹ Royal Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, 1913, Part 3, Vol. 1. Ottawa, Canada.

more or less mixed up with the busy industrial life of a great city, but when it comes to the housewife, other means must be used. Posters do not go into the home, handbills are often thrown away unread, while many housewives do not read the advertising columns of the newspaper, with perhaps the exception of the bargain pages. It might not at all be a bad idea to print the announcement of these classes in the center of the bargain pages. One of the most effective means yet adopted is the personal circular, or circular letter sent through the mail. This, properly addressed, has a personal appeal which is always read. Mailing lists may be made up from various sources, such as schools, churches, labor organizations, women's clubs, etc. Such circulars should contain all necessary information and render unnecessary any further enquiries. The following are copies of circulars that have been successfully used :

COOKING AND SEWING CLASSES FOR WOMEN
OF.....¹

(A) *At the Girl's Department of the Trade School*

When.....If there is sufficient demand it is planned to open these classes January 5th.

Where.....At the Girls' Department of the Trade School, 79 Broadway.

For whom....These classes are opened to any woman or girl over sixteen years old who lives in the city of.....

Cost.....These classes are free.

Session.....Each class meets once a week from three until five o'clock. The number of lessons is given after each subject.

Product.....For the dressmaking classes you bring your own material and have what you make. The school furnishes the material for the cooking classes, but you can have what you make by paying what it costs. The classes in expert cleaning and fine

¹ "Cooking in the Vocation School." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1915, No. 1.

laundry work will give you a chance to cleanse your own clothes.

Teachers These classes will all be under the charge of women who are experts in the work they teach.

Registration . . To register, fill out the attached blank and mail to the trade school, 79 Broadway. Additional blanks may be obtained at this office. A woman may register for any one of these courses or for more than one if she wishes. Admission to all these classes is limited to fifteen to twenty pupils; the preference will be given to those who register first; so register at once. You will be notified by mail if your application can be accepted, and the date on which the first meeting of the class will be held. No class will be opened unless there are at least fifteen applications for instruction in that subject.

COOKING FOR HOUSEKEEPERS

1. Yeast, bread, biscuits, and rolls 6 lessons
2. Baking-powder biscuits and breakfast cakes . . . 6 lessons
3. Pastry 6 lessons
4. Cake 8 lessons
5. Desserts 10 lessons
6. Breakfasts 5 lessons
7. Dinner-pail lunches 8 lessons
8. School-children's lunches 8 lessons
9. Sunday-night suppers 6 lessons
10. Simple family meals 8 lessons
11. Cooking for infants and invalids 8 lessons

SEWING FOR HOUSEKEEPERS

12. Shirt waists 8 lessons
13. Fancy waists 12 lessons
14. Skirts 12 lessons
15. Unlined dresses 16 lessons
16. Underwear 10 lessons
17. Baby clothes 12 lessons
18. Children's clothes 16 lessons
19. Household sewing (bed linen, table linen, etc.) . 8 lessons
20. Mending and repairing 8 lessons
21. White embroidery 10 lessons
22. Use of sewing machine attachments 6 lessons
- Can you use the tucker, ruffler, hemmer, and binder which belong to your sewing machine?
23. Embroidery for gowns 10 lessons

CONTINUED EDUCATION IN HOUSEHOLD ARTS 123

CLEANING AND FINE LAUNDRY WORK FOR HOUSEKEEPERS

24. Washing blankets and flannels.....	4 lessons
25. Laundering shirt waists.....	4 lessons
26. Fine starching and ironing.....	6 lessons
27. Removing stains.....	6 lessons
28. Cleaning.....	6 lessons
29. Cleaning solutions.....	4 lessons

APPLICATION BLANK

Date.....

Name..... Address..... Occupation.....

Courses desired (give both name and number).....

.....

(B) *At the Housekeeping Center, 96½ View Street*

Do you want to know

How to cook

Meat?

Vegetables?

Soup?

Bread?

Cake?

Breakfast?

Dinner?

Supper?

How to sew

Shirt waists?

Dresses?

Skirts?

Underwear?

Children's clothing?

Household

Mending?

Sewing?

These classes are for you.

They are free.

If you wish to belong, come and put your name in Thursday or Friday, 26th and 27th, 3 to 4.30 p.m.

Evening classes. Even if all those who find it possible to attend during the daytime take the instruction offered, there still will be a large number who have not been provided for. This number will include all those young girls and women who are engaged in what we called, by way of distinction, the wage-earning occupations. For these, there is no other resource in the present economic condition of society but attendance at evening classes. It may be at once admitted

that such classes have many decided disadvantages, and the objections urged against them are even more potent when applied to classes for women than when applied to classes for men. Pages might be written stating the objections that have been urged against evening schools, but no useful purpose would be served thereby. The following, however, may be quoted as summarizing this aspect of the question :

"The evening school problem is a real bane to industrial education, and is not confined to any one country or to any one people, but is common to all the world. It is inherent in no particular system, but finds its origin in an unavoidable condition of life. It is unfortunate but apparently irremediable. It has received the close attention and earnest thought of the most enthusiastic and conscientious promoters of the new education. It has very likely come to stay. Not until we enjoy a universal prosperity can opportunities of education be open equally to all. The disadvantages of evening schools are numerous and are easily patent to any interested observer. Intellectual application on Sundays, or in the evening when the body is exhausted with a day or week of physical employment, leads to overexertion, and is apt to arouse a feeling of repulsion in the learner towards the study which robs him of well-earned repose. It has also been suggested that Sunday study of industrial subjects interferes with church work, and leads to a neglect of religion and higher moral thinking. Furthermore, evenings and Sundays together offer too few hours for proper systematic instruction."¹

The time may come in the distant future when evening classes will be dispensed with, but in the meantime they are

¹ "Industrial Education and Industrial Conditions in Germany," Bulletin No. 33, Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington.

necessary, and while working for their abolition let us endeavor to make them more effective, and to remove many of their admitted defects. When the manufacturer can be made to see that the improvement of the conditions under which his employees live means an increase in their industrial efficiency, then he will be willing as a business investment to allow his "hands" time to acquire the knowledge which will enable them to make that improvement. When he is convinced of this, he will be willing to allow the girls and women in his employment to attend properly organized household arts classes during their working hours without loss of pay. In the welfare work which is becoming more common in large industrial establishments, there are signs that instruction in all that pertains to the home is being more regarded as having a direct relation to industrial efficiency.

Now, admitting that evening class instruction in household arts is at present both necessary and unavoidable, let us consider the means to be adopted to make it more effective than it is at present.

Traditions of the day school. It is essential that the traditions of the day school be laid aside. Unfortunately these traditions have been allowed to a large extent to govern evening class procedure. The methods that are supposed to be suitable for the sixth, seventh, and eighth grade girl, for example, group work and cooking in microscopic quantities, are not necessarily suitable for those who are much older and have had more experience. The teachers of the evening classes are generally the teachers of the day classes, and too often the lessons of the day schools are repeated in the evening schools without the slightest variation. It is not generally recognized that these evening school students have entered on a new life since leaving the day school, and that they need the

guidance, the knowledge, and the treatment appropriate to that life. The lack of housekeeping experience has been referred to in connection with household arts instruction in the elementary schools, and it is even more detrimental here, and the teacher should adopt every means possible to acquaint herself with the home conditions of her students. One class in four might very well be set apart for the discussion of the individual problems of the students, or the teacher might devote a certain time to the private discussion with each student of her own peculiar problems.

Changed methods of approach. Changes must be made in the method of approaching the subject. The usual method at present in use is the "general course in cooking," which attempts to give the girl or woman a very general idea of the whole activities of the household. This may be suitable as an introduction to the subject for the girl of fourteen or sixteen years of age, especially if she has had no previous training in the elementary school, but such a course does not take into account the skill and knowledge that many of the girls attending evening schools have obtained by actual experience. The general course also assumes that all attending the classes have the same requirements; while as a matter of fact, notwithstanding the similarity of the household arts, there are only small groups with common needs. Voluntary students will not attend classes unless they are given what they need, and not what the teacher thinks they ought to need. "The chaotic state of the work in some of the evening industrial schools has been due to the fact that the schools have not clearly understood the purpose of the work. Many schools have regarded the evening work for women, for example, as uplift work; they have failed to realize that the fundamental aim of evening work for women should be to increase their

efficiency as workers either in the trade or in the home. Or again they have not understood the purpose because they have not known what factors in any given case enter into efficiency."¹

Unit course system. The best means yet discovered of handling this situation is the "unit course system." The short-unit or brief course is an intensified form of instruction designed to serve in a limited number of lessons the specific needs of a particular group of students. Each course is complete in itself. One great merit of the unit system is its flexibility. It is able to meet the requirements of the housewife who needs assistance in some particular phase of her work, but is not able to take an extended course, and it also meets the needs of the one who is willing and able to take a complete course, as by taking units enough a well-rounded training may be obtained. The flexibility of the system may be illustrated as follows. If the letters A B C D represent different stages in the usual school course, the only point at which the student can enter is at A. If she wishes to enter at C, she must pass examinations on A and B. If these letters, on the other hand, represent unit courses, a pupil may enter at any position of A B C D for the instruction required and still, if she wishes, complete the whole course

A	B	C	D
B	C	D	A
C	D	A	B
D	A	B	C

In the general course in household arts many individual lessons fail to appeal to certain pupils, and these feel that their time has been wasted. In the unit course method the

¹ "Short Unit Courses for Wage Earners," Bulletin No. 159. Department of Labor, Washington.

student gets exactly what she requires. The following are sample unit courses which may be used for part time instruction in homemaking for housekeepers. These courses are only suggestive, and this is in no sense a complete list of work which may be given in this subject. The courses themselves and the number of lessons in each should be arranged to meet the needs of the pupils.¹

Meat.....	8 lessons
Soups and stews.....	10 lessons
Left-overs.....	8 lessons
Meat substitutes.....	16 lessons
Fish.....	6 lessons
Clams and oysters.....	5 lessons
Vegetables.....	8 lessons
Bread and rolls.....	6 lessons
Muffins and quick bread.....	5 lessons
Cake.....	8 lessons
Cookies.....	6 lessons
Cold desserts.....	6 lessons
Hot desserts.....	6 lessons
Frozen desserts.....	5 lessons
Pastry.....	6 lessons
Salads.....	8 lessons
Sandwiches.....	4 lessons
Eggs.....	4 lessons
Canning and preserving.....	12 lessons
"Dinner pails".....	6 lessons
School children's lunches.....	6 lessons
Sunday night suppers.....	8 lessons
Breakfasts.....	5 lessons
Fireless cooker and paper-bag cookery.....	6 lessons
Kosher cooking.....	10 lessons
Italian cooking.....	10 lessons
Infant feeding.....	5 lessons
Meals for children from 2 to 6 years old.....	5 lessons
Cooking for invalids and special diets.....	8 lessons
Marketing.....	6 lessons
Table setting and serving.....	4 lessons

¹ "Cooking in the Vocational School." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1915, No. 1.

In the state of Massachusetts short-unit courses for women have been conducted in thirty-nine different subjects, and the number is constantly being added to.

The visiting nurse. There are signs that our educational and municipal authorities are beginning to look upon training for right living and good homes as one of their legitimate functions. The school physician and visiting nurse are well known in a number of large cities. Service of this kind has also been extended to dentistry. Nursing was originally one of the household arts, but it has become specialized, and has left the home, together with a number of other trades and professions. There is no doubt that a visiting nurse can convey a much-needed type of instruction into those homes into which she is allowed to enter. The way to a parent's heart is usually through attention to the child, and the conservation of human resources is just as much a function of government as is the conservation of natural resources. The work of the school nurse has been somewhat hampered by the general idea that her work is a species of charity. Many families are intensely proud, and bitterly resent the imputation that they belong to the needy class. The plan by which visiting nurses are now being introduced on a self-supporting basis by charging a small fee to the individual family will probably admit the nurse into a greater number of homes, and thus widely extend her usefulness. Human resources could be conserved in no more satisfactory manner than by adequate attention being paid to the rearing of children and their proper care during both health and sickness.

The proper function of the visiting nurse is not to take the care of the patient out of the hands of the mother, but to give her such actual instruction as will enable her to look after the patient, and satisfactorily carry out the orders of

the doctor. She has, however, perhaps a greater function than attention to the sick, and that is the giving of information which will prevent disease, and thus avoid the economic loss to the nation which disease and sickness always entail.

The visiting housekeeper. The visiting nurse should always be followed by the visiting housekeeper. The work of the nurse has shown that in many cases the fundamental difficulty is general ignorance of the household arts, and here the work of the visiting housekeeper comes in. The nurse and the housekeeper should work in the closest coöperation. In many cases the visit of the nurse not only demonstrates the necessity for some instruction from the housekeeper, but also paves the way for her visit. Such housekeepers are already at work in about twenty cities, including Chicago, Boston, Cambridge, Detroit, Cleveland, Brooklyn, New York, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Kansas City, and a number of others, but their employment is by no means general even in towns and cities, while in rural districts it is almost unknown. It is perhaps unfortunate that the majority of these officers are employed by charity organizations, and that at present they are largely untrained women. This work is as educative and probably more far reaching than that done in the schools and should be carried on by trained women under the control of the educational authorities working in conjunction with the sanitary authorities of the various cities, and under properly constituted legal warrant. The employment of the visiting housekeeper is a means of reaching many homes and families that cannot be reached in any other way. Another woman's kitchen has been described as the most inaccessible of places, and the success of the work will depend almost entirely upon the training and tact of the person employed.

Qualifications. The woman who undertakes this work will require wide information along technical lines. She should have thoroughly grasped the theories and ideals that are included in a thorough study of the household arts, and above all she must acquire the faculty of eliminating all that is not essential to their application. She must be able to teach the ordinary household processes in the home of a busy woman in the simplest and most expeditious way. The average mother will not try to repeat anything which seemed complicated and difficult at the time it was first shown to her. Cooking and general housekeeping methods will have to be reduced to the simplest processes before they will be readily adaptable to this kind of work, and along these lines there is still opportunity for much experimentation. The course taken during the training of the visiting housekeeper must be an all-round course rather than one in which specialization plays an important part. "She will have to know about the sanitary care of the house, the essentials in personal and sex hygiene, the proper care and feeding of the family, the wisest use of the family income, the easiest way to keep household accounts, the right way to launder, how to market, and how to take care of the food when it is purchased, the choice and care of hygienic clothing, and the simplest schemes for attractive house decoration. She must know how to show a family the way to get as much fresh air as possible into a house, and how to make the family want fresh air and enjoy it. She must be ready to teach the proper use and care of the plumbing, and she will have to know whether the plumbing has been installed according to law, or whether there are defects which should be reported and remedied. While inspection will be a minor phase of her work, still she should be quick to notice any violations of

the city sanitary code, and should see that legal standards are observed.”¹

Work of the visiting housekeeper. The following extracts may be given from the annual reports of charitable organizations employing visiting housekeepers, as they indicate clearly the character of the work to be done.²

United Charities of Chicago Report, 1912. “Ignorance of homemaking on the part of both father and mother is becoming more and more apparent. Training the family in homemaking is fundamental in good case work. The best way is through the visiting housekeeper. She teaches the woman in her home how to cook with her crude utensils and simple food materials, and repeats her visits until the lesson is learned. She shows the mother how to buy wisely, to understand food values, the importance of cleanliness and fresh air, how to divide her income, how to interest and instruct her children, how to repair clothing, etc.”

Cambridge Associated Charities Report, 1913. “Our ambition is to show clearly what constructive work one worker can do, that later we may find a public eager to employ four such workers, one in each district. Cooking lessons are only a part of this work. Hygiene, making over of old clothes and buying new ones wisely, proper care and discipline of children, marketing, value and use of different kitchen utensils, the care of fuel — all these need to be also included. It is ignorance in all these practical matters that is the cause of inefficiency in so many families.”

Detroit Associated Charities Report, 1913. “The visiting housekeeper work was started in December, 1912, because

¹ *Journal of Home Economics*, February, 1914.

² *Ibid.*, April, 1915.

of the extremely improvident and in some cases harmful way in which the grocery orders were used by the poor. The visiting housekeeper in eight months of her work covered by this report had made 383 calls, giving 174 lessons in 133 families. Besides doing the reconstructive work in the homes of the poor, teaching them to plan and prepare nourishing and pleasing food, to clean windows, floors, and woodwork, make and repair clothing, and even cane chairs, she has taught invalid cooking in the homes of the patients of the visiting nurses, and followed the babies' milk fund nurses with instruction to the mother as to the preparation of cereals, stewed fruits, etc., unknown arts to the foreign woman. She has also prepared well-balanced and economical menus and grocery orders for the use of the Associated Charities workers. She has also established classes where older girls in her families can be instructed in methods of food preparation adapted to their circumstances."

New York City Report, 1914. "In the homes the good results are shown in five definite ways: family expense systematized, family dietary revised, dietary for children furnished, general standard of living decidedly raised and health of family improved. A real transformation which promises to be permanent has taken place in 799 homes through the instruction of our four visiting housekeepers, one sewing teacher, and two dietitians."

Cincinnati Associated Charities Report, 1911. "It is the business of this specially trained young woman to go into the most disorderly and poorly kept homes, to try to bring order from chaos. She helps the mothers wash, scrub, and clean thoroughly, if they promise to keep things decent thereafter. She teaches the housewife how to cook plain foods in the most palatable manner, how to save, by cooking

the same kind of food in various ways, and by utilizing the scraps ; cooks meals herself as object lessons ; goes marketing with the buyer of the family, teaches her how to buy so as to obtain the greatest nutritive value at the least cost ; plans the menu for each day in the week, substituting cereals, pure milk, etc., for black coffee, leathery pancakes, and various indigestible or expensive foods frequently selected by housewives who are ignorant of the art of domestic economy. She shows them how to make new garments or repair and make over old ones. She instructs them in the rules of hygiene, and arouses whatever latent pride they may have in the appearance of their children and their homes. In many instances she has helped them bridge over the chasm between dependency and self-support and has become the household divinity in several homes. She has conducted two neighborhood centers or classes where housewives come to learn cooking, sewing, and other household arts."

The visiting housekeeper in rural districts. Unfortunately, at present this work is largely restricted to urban districts ; and we are apt to look at the large towns and cities and think they are the whole of the United States, while as a matter of fact the rural population form 53.7 per cent of the total population. The county representative or visiting farmer has been for several years an established institution and has proved his usefulness beyond question. Such agents are now located in more than one thousand counties out of the three thousand in the United States. Their work has proved that the place for an effective demonstration is on the farmer's own farm and not on some model farm backed with all the financial resources of the state. It is reasonable to suppose, in the case of the household arts, if the expert can obtain entrance into the individual home, and show how better work

can be done there with the equipment the farmer's wife has, greater success will be achieved than if the demonstration is made with the supposedly ideal equipment of the schools.

The crux of the whole problem is "getting in," but the rural household demonstrator is really in a better position to obtain entrance into the home than the visiting housekeeper in the towns. The county agent has paved the way, and the social life in smaller communities is more intimate. The tomato clubs, canning clubs, sewing contests, etc., now so largely a feature of rural organizations, may all be utilized in obtaining such entrance. The housewife is naturally conservative and sensitive about her methods of managing the home, but there are few homes either rich or poor that do not need the advice of an expert.

The work of the visiting housekeeper in rural districts will be different in many ways from that of the visiting housekeeper in towns and cities. It should be remembered that the problems of country women must be solved by country women. To appoint a woman to do this work who has not had actual experience of country needs and requirements is to court failure. Even in tenements there are often found conveniences that are unknown in the farm home. The average farm woman has to work harder and with worse tools than the woman in the same social scale in the town or city. A young man in a class studying "country life and problems" in order to make this point clear gave a summary of his mother's daily routine of work at one particular season of the year as follows:¹

1. Rise at 4.30.
2. Prepare breakfast while men milk the cows.

¹"Studies in Rural Citizenship," Canadian Council of Agriculture, Winnipeg.

3. Leave dishes, hurry to the cellar, get cold water from a distant well to chill milk, carry out sour and skimmed milk for pigs, calves, and chickens, wash milk vessels and carry out to sun.

4. Hurry, feed poultry.

5. Hurry, wash dishes.

6. Hurry, gather fruit and vegetables for dinner.

7. Prepare the same for table.

8. On certain days churning, baking, washing, and ironing are done.

9. Feed poultry.

10. Prepare dinner.

11. Wash dishes, sew or mend, put up fruit or vegetables.

12. Get supper, wash dishes, look after poultry and milk, and work in the garden.

13. Scrub the kitchen on certain evenings after the family has retired in order to prevent "tracking the floor."

14. Retire about 10 P.M.

Most city houses are provided with a heating system, running water, and electric or gas lighting. These are unknown in many country dwellings. House planning in towns, though still bad enough from the woman's point of view, is much better attended to than in the country. The barn and the drive shed is generally considered as of more importance than the house in which the wife has to work, and for these and other reasons the work of the visiting housekeeper in the rural districts will be as much concerned with household equipment as with household management.

As an example of what may be done in this direction take the following:¹

The better farming section of the North Dakota Experi-

¹ *Journal of Home Economics*, June-July, 1915.

ment Station is now employing a visiting housekeeper to go into the individual homes. Attention at present is concentrated upon (1) effective arrangement of working equipment in the kitchen, with a view to saving time and energy; (2) encouragement and aid in purchasing the best labor-saving devices suited to the particular needs of the individual; (3) better sanitation, including cisterns, water systems, and methods of sewage disposal. It is felt that many of the problems of the rural housekeeper will be solved by placing in the rural home many of the conveniences that are generally found in city homes. No better use can be made of the Federal grant provided under the Smith-Lever and Smith-Hughes bills than the training and support of visiting housekeepers for rural districts.

Movable schools of household arts. The American Association of Farmers' Institute Workers adopted the following resolution in 1906: "That this association, appreciating the importance of providing more systematic instruction in agriculture, hereby expresses its approval of the movable school of agriculture as an instrument for this purpose." The general adoption of such schools and the success they have achieved have led to the conclusion that the same methods applied to the household arts might meet with the same success. The movable school is instruction of a systematic character extending over a week or more, given by properly qualified teachers, at points variously distant from the central institute. Such schools are not suited for pioneer work, as before they can be successful the demand for them must be created. In creating this demand, the women's institutes can play an important part. A variation of the movable school idea is a series of weekly lectures or demonstrations, properly organized, such as are given by the Ontario Depart-

ment of Agriculture. As the time of the school is short, every means should be taken to make the best use of it. The general course is often too diffuse, and it is probable that the unit method applied here would accomplish much more. The classes should be kept small and the time should not be wasted on note taking, as the students who are likely to attend are not generally able to take notes, except in the form of straight dictation, and this is an inexcusable waste of time. A printed syllabus of each lecture with a list of references and other material that can be obtained by the students should be prepared in a form which can be kept for future use.

The teacher, of course, must be fully qualified and in full sympathy with country life. The time of the instructor should not be wholly taken up with actual teaching. She should have part of each day for visiting in the homes. It is a debatable question which of two methods should be adopted in this extension teaching of the household arts, each student using the home kitchen for her equipment and the lessons being given in the form of demonstration lessons, or the actual cooking being done in class, much after the manner in which the subject is taught in the high school. If the equipment found in the school kitchen is similar to that found in the homes of the district, if the cooking can be done in family quantities, and if the class instruction be supplemented by supervised home practice later, the second method is probably the better.

Many state universities carry on extension work of this character. Instructors are sent out for one or two weeks to a certain locality, passing at the end of the fixed period to a similar school in another locality. Some schools have one instructor only, and in these, as a rule, special attention is given to work on foods; there are others provided with two

or more instructors and in these, of course, much more can be done relating to general household management and clothing as well as to cooking. In the two-teacher schools it is usual to provide a class for girls of high school age as well as for housewives. The arrangements are usually made through some local organization, such as women's institutes, and this organization is asked to make itself responsible for a satisfactory attendance, a certain part of the expenses of running the school, and the equipment and accommodation for carrying on the class.

These schools should make some attempt to keep in touch with the students after the conclusion of the classes. They should be made acquainted by the college with the newer developments. A follow-up system similar to that used in the best business houses might be adopted. When a student's interest has been properly aroused, she is not content with attending one school, but keeps up her reading and generally attends the school the following year. A supervised reading or correspondence course should be provided between the school periods in order that interest may be kept up and an authority provided to which the student may appeal for help in solving various household problems that crop up during the year, and which could not be dealt with during the limited time the schools are in session.

Short courses. Many young women and housekeepers who have attended movable schools have been induced to take the next step, and attend one of the numerous short courses. These courses are offered by various agricultural colleges, or agricultural departments of universities, and are generally held in the winter when the farmer's wife is relieved of much of the outside work which has to be done at other seasons. The movable school is a step in advance over the

women's institutes and homemakers' conferences, and the short course, lasting on the average about twelve weeks, enables much more work to be done than the movable school. As a rule no entrance conditions are imposed, and all over eighteen years of age with a common school education are admitted. The tendency now is to offer instruction extending over more than one season, and thus while each short course is complete in itself, attendance at several provide a well-rounded course in the whole subject.

A course lasting for seven weeks is given at the University of Missouri. Its aim is stated to be that of "supplying a type of training similar to that furnished to young men in the short-course in agriculture. With this end in view we have selected from our regular course those subjects which bear most directly on home life, and have adapted them to the needs of the short-course student. These have been supplemented by courses in agriculture in which the women might be interested, such as dairying, poultry raising, and home gardening."¹

Cornell University offers a three months' course open to all persons over eighteen years of age, dealing with the following subjects: foods; home sanitation; home management; sewing and drafting; and art in the home. As the farmer's wife is usually held largely responsible for the dairy, poultry and garden, courses are offered in these subjects. Special short technical courses in canning and preserving, laundry management, dressmaking and millinery are being developed in the hope that many girls may be able to engage in work of this character on a commercial basis without leaving the farm.

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 38.

In addition to the work being done by the agricultural colleges and universities, many secondary schools such as the county agricultural high schools and the congressional district high schools are providing short courses in household arts for girls, as well as agricultural courses for boys, and as these schools develop, the necessity for such work in the colleges will probably diminish and they will be able to devote their attention to work of real college grade.

Demonstration trains. In agricultural extension work much use has been made of the demonstration train, and in many of these the household arts have been well represented. It is not the mission of the train to give much definite formal instruction, owing to lack of time and other limitations, yet they have done much good, and aroused the desire for further information. Interest in them does not wane. At first they were looked upon as a rather absurd fad, but even in states where they have been in operation for ten years or more the enthusiasm and interest increase rather than diminish on each successive visit of the train. They reach a class of dwellers in rural districts that apparently can be reached by no other means.

In many cases the great railways coöperate with the colleges and universities in running the trains. In 1912 four agricultural trains were taken over the lines of three railway companies at a small expense to the state of West Virginia. Lectures were given to 17,400 people, ninety-eight stops of one and a half hours each being made in twenty-nine counties. The routes, occupying twenty-two days, covered 11,074 miles. The trains, consisting of three lecture coaches for men and one for women and children, together with a baggage car, were furnished free by the railway company.

In North Carolina the farmers' institutes are running

household arts trains with the idea of benefiting the woman on the farm. They are fitted simply with a gasoline stove and a few ordinary cooking utensils, and illustrated charts are hung along the sides of the car. The cars are run through the rural section, and fully qualified teachers give simple lectures on various problems of household management, special emphasis being laid on sanitation, hygiene, and the care of children.

The Colorado Agricultural College in 1914, in coöperation with the colonization department of the Santa Fé railway lines in Colorado, ran a train of six cars and coaches, two of which were devoted to the household arts. One vestibuled coach was reserved for lecture work, and cooking demonstrations on "Variety in the preparation of cured meats and dairy products" were given by an instructor from the college, assisted by a senior student. These were preceded by a talk on "Practical methods for curing meats on the farm." A space of forty-five feet was allowed for household arts exhibits, and this was occupied by cases each forty-eight inches long, by thirty inches wide, by six inches deep, and so mounted that the center of the case was on a level with the eye. These exhibits were intended to suggest methods of home improvement, and the condition of the average rural home in Colorado was the standard kept in mind. Owing to the prohibitive cost of models, suggestions for water supply, waste disposal, lighting, heating, and ice plants were not exhibited, and for these topics, suggestions were confined to a bulletin board announcement of descriptive literature dealing with those subjects.

Many of the exhibits took the form of models made to scale. The exhibit included wall finishes and wall coverings, floor finishes and floor coverings, ventilating devices, and the

metal weather strip, the proper equipment of the bed and bedroom, desirable and possible equipment for cleaning, miscellaneous devices and conveniences for the kitchen and work table, the housewife's tool chest, house-dresses for the housewife and garments for the small child, a set of pantry shelves properly equipped, and a bookshelf containing a ten dollar library, catalogues of which were available for free distribution.¹

There are many districts, of course, that trains cannot yet reach, and for these other methods will have to be devised. For such communities, the Tuskegee Institute has fitted up a wagon known as the "Jessup" agricultural wagon drawn by two mules. While this wagon is principally designed to improve farming conditions, the household side is not entirely neglected. It should be possible to make use of this method in many isolated rural districts that cannot be reached by any other means.

Women's institutes and homemakers' conferences. Other forms of extension work in household arts with which farmers' institutes, colleges, and other organizations are concerning themselves, are women's institutes and homemakers' conferences. The farmers' institute is a one, two, or three days' conference usually organized by the state college or department of agriculture. Ever since their initiation, women have attended the conferences, and in some cases special sessions have been organized for them. In many states and provinces separate institutes for women are now in active operation. The institute meetings are not usually concerned with definite instruction. The time over which they extend is too short for this. Their purpose is largely inspirational,

¹ "Education for the Home." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 38.

and their efforts are still needed in arousing interest and stimulating progress. When this interest is aroused, they can be followed by the movable school or the short course. There is a marked tendency now, however, to make even the two or three day institute the vehicle of some definite instruction.

In connection with the farmers' institutes of Illinois there is a department of household science which is managed by its own officers. Related to the Illinois institutes is the Illinois Girls' State Fair School of Domestic Science. This is a two weeks' school, held in the women's building on the state fair grounds at Springfield. Each county sends one representative; a fee of ten dollars is charged for board; the students live in the building and the whole service is performed by them. The building accommodates 102 students. A lecture is given daily by a nurse, and two demonstration cookery lessons by the principal of the school.

Women's institutes have been developed in the Province of Ontario to a much greater extent than elsewhere. There are 843 institutes in active operation throughout the Province and the number is constantly growing. In these institutes there has long been a feeling that the work was not definite enough and was altogether too discursive. In order to remove this defect, series of ten or fifteen lessons in cooking, sewing, and home nursing are now being given. A fee of two dollars is charged for each course and twenty-five cents for a single lesson. These have proved so successful that they are being gradually extended, and it is hoped that at no distant date they will cover the whole of the province, and the idea is gradually spreading into the other provinces of the Dominion. Each class consists of at least twenty-five pupils. The provincial department of agriculture provides all the equipment except the tables, chairs, and a cookstove,

and is also responsible for the salary of a well-qualified teacher.¹

The farmers' week is an institution of many of the colleges and universities, and in connection with these there has been organized, in some cases, "farmers' wives' week." Sometimes a conference is organized independently, and is known by various names, such as "housekeepers' conference," "school for housekeepers," or "week's course in home economics." The University of Texas offers a one week's program. The University of Illinois offers a two weeks' program, and immediately after this, extension courses in cooking and sewing of four weeks in duration are provided, thus offering opportunity for more extended study. Women's institutes and homemakers' conferences have not concerned themselves entirely with woman's place in the home. They have considered also her place in the community. They have established libraries, placed pianos in halls and schools, introduced tomato and canning clubs, improved the schools, established rest rooms, and entered into many other forms of social service which have for their object the general improvement of social conditions.

Government bulletins. Mention should be made here of the publication of bulletins by government bureaus and private institutions. The United States government is probably the largest publisher of educational literature in the world, and large numbers of bulletins and pamphlets are issued by colleges, universities, and experiment stations. It is estimated that the federal department of agriculture alone issues annually more than twenty-four million copies of bulletins and circulars, and many of these deal with home

¹ Annual Reports, "Women's Institutes." Ontario Department of Agriculture, Toronto.

conditions and the work of the farmer's wife. The list includes bulletins on food and dietetics, the house and its conveniences, management of the household, hygiene, and many other topics. The Bureau of Education also publishes many bulletins on the household arts with particular reference to their introduction into the public schools. The most complete and authoritative publications yet issued on the subject are the four bulletins on "Education for the Home," issued by that bureau, and with the creation of the new division of home economics the probability is that these publications will increase in number and value. Many colleges make the issue of bulletins a regular feature of their extension service. Editions of thirty thousand to fifty thousand have been circulated by the state college of Oklahoma, the University of Minnesota, and Cornell University. The Cornell reading course for farmers' wives now includes about thirty-five different titles.

As these bulletins are generally limited in circulation to the state issuing them, their usefulness is somewhat restricted; and it should be possible to make arrangements by which one state may reprint the bulletins issued by another. An arrangement of this character has been made in the case of the different manuals issued by the Ontario Education Department. There are no general statistics available to show the extent to which these bulletins are read. As a rule they are written in the simplest non-technical language, though, here and there, there is a tendency for the specialists who write them to forget the character of the audience to whom they are intended to appeal. When these bulletins are written in the form of a connected narrative they should conclude with a summary giving plain and concise directions for carrying out the principles involved. The bulletin offers

a means of reaching many thousands of housewives that could not be otherwise approached. In order that they may be most effectively used they should not be distributed indiscriminately. They should be sent only where there is need, and the mailing lists of the colleges and departments should be revised frequently.

Special agencies. There are other special agencies not usually considered as educational institutions, which are affording real practical assistance to the busy housewife in need of help. Interest in problems concerning the home has grown so rapidly that many of these agencies have been stimulated to use their natural outlets to give assistance. Many of these efforts are frankly advertising schemes, but none the less they are proving of real service. Amongst these agencies are newspapers, gas and electric light companies, department stores, and insurance companies.

The press. There are many magazines devoted to woman's work in the home, but only a very small percentage of these reach the actual homemaker. There are few homes, however, into which the daily newspaper does not enter, and the articles and recipes published by it are providing needed assistance. The influence of articles showing how housewives must stretch the income to meet the increased expenditures for food by learning how to substitute foods of equal nutritive value for those which economic conditions make prohibitive, cannot fail to be good. A feature of most newspapers is the daily market quotations, and the housewife who makes a practice of budgeting her expenditures finds these of great assistance. Many schools in various parts of the country are making use of the columns of the newspapers in order to bring necessary and timely information to the notice of the housekeepers of the neighborhood.

Gas and electric companies. These companies send out demonstrators to give instruction in the use and care of the various ranges. They show how to operate and care for them and explain the dangers of explosion and shock. Literature, containing recipes and methods of economical use, is freely distributed. Demonstrations are given on the cooking of the various foodstuffs, and every effort is put forth to make the use of the various appliances satisfactory to the purchaser. Instruction is given in the use of the carpet sweeper, vacuum cleaner, electric washing machine, and other labor-saving devices. Model rooms are set up to exhibit proper lighting effects and the advantages of electric heating and other electric appliances, and in the effort to make sales, much information is given. When the sale is made, the companies do not cease their efforts, but are ready at all times to send competent persons to solve difficulties that arise in actual household use. Many of these companies publish monthly magazines in which valuable information is given.

Department stores. The department stores through their demonstrations, displays, and exhibits make a strong appeal for the attention and instruction of the housewife. A food exhibit does not only show the preparation and serving of food but by means of lectures and pamphlets gives the housewife a very clear conception of the possibilities and uses of the food demonstrated. Model apartments are fitted up, and the persons in charge are ready to give advice and suggestions as to furnishings, decoration, lighting, etc. Series of lectures are given on "cooking," "thrift," "budgeting," "dress," "food and feeding," etc. Free classes are held in sewing, crocheting, and all kinds of fancy work, and the stores are constantly reaching out in new directions. It used to be the fashion to sneer at all these efforts and call

them "advertising dodges"; but it is coming to be recognized that though their primary purpose is to advertise the store and its products, yet by their means information is reaching the people, and that this information could hardly be given in any other way.

Insurance companies. Some of these publish free magazines containing such articles as "School Children and their Needs," "Johnnie's Shoes" (calling attention to the possibility of taking cold from wet feet), "Just Flies" (calling attention to the danger of the fly as a transmitter of disease). Booklets and circulars are distributed. One on milk advocates cleanliness in all stages of its preparation. In connection with one company a visiting nurse is maintained who instructs the policy holders in the principles of sanitation and hygiene. A booklet on "The Child" gives brief information about the child from the period of incubation to the third year of its growth. Directions for living and sleeping in the open air are given in another booklet distributed by the company. The suggestions given are simple and inexpensive and calculated to help those who would like to use what they have at hand in making an outfit for outdoor life.

Private organizations. In addition to the organizations mentioned, there are many others which have for their main object the improvement of home conditions. Space will not allow of their being mentioned here. In every state and province we find the department of education, the department of agriculture, the agricultural college, and many private and semi-private associations all taking a hand in the business of training the housekeeper so that she will be able to improve home conditions. One of the most important of these associations is that known as the General Federation of Women's Clubs. This is a union of the various local

CHAPTER VI

HOUSEHOLD ARTS INSTRUCTION IN PREVOCATIONAL, HOMEMAKING, AND TRADE SCHOOLS

- I. The prevocational school.
- II. The junior high school.
- III. Homemaking training in vocational schools.
- IV. Schools for homemakers.
- V. Homemaking courses in agricultural colleges.
- VI. Homemaking schools in Denmark.
- VII. School for training maids in Denmark.

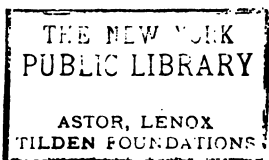
UNTIL very recently school systems were organized and courses were drawn up on the assumption that the needs of the boy and the needs of the girl were identical and could be best met by a study of the same subjects, but the subjects were chosen, and their content and extent determined, almost entirely with reference to the supposed needs of the boy. This assumption dominated the entire system from the kindergarten to the university. It is now admitted that differentiation is necessary, but this differentiation in materials, means, and methods has not yet been satisfactorily worked out.

The prevocational school. Experiments are now being conducted with a type of school and class which is being called "prevocational." These experiments are the result of a public demand that the money spent on our educational systems shall bring in more adequate returns in the way of effective lives and industrial ability, and also of the



Courtesy Albany Vocational School.

GIRLS FITTING GARMENTS.



conviction that the large sums spent on industrial education have not yet resulted in reaching the large majority of boys and girls who leave school either from choice or necessity at thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen years of age to enter into wage-earning pursuits.

From the investigations conducted by Professor Edward L. Thorndike¹ the amount of elimination, based on the registration of the several grades, is as follows: grade four, ten per cent; grade five, sixteen per cent; grade six, 20.6 per cent; grade seven, twenty-six per cent; grade eight, 32.5 per cent. Only about a third of all the children graduate from the elementary school, according to the above estimates, but it is only fair to say that the accuracy of Dr. Thorndike's figures have been disputed by Dr. Ayres, who finds that the "general tendency of American school systems is to carry all of the children through the five grades, half of them to the final elementary grade and one in ten to the final year of the high school."²

Even the conclusions of Dr. Ayres are serious enough, as they force us to conclude that a large number of children never reach the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. It is these pupils that the so-called prevocational school is intended to reach.

The term prevocational describes a type of general education which it is hoped will lay a better foundation for real vocational courses than is at present laid by the traditional school course. Like the term "manual training," the term prevocational is perhaps open to some objection, but it is not often possible to find a word immediately

¹ The "Elimination of Pupils from School." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1907, No. 4.

² Ayres, Leonard P., *Laggards in our Schools*.

that will accurately describe the newer movements in education, and by the time such a word has been found, the original word has become so entrenched in popular usage that all attempts to dislodge it fail. The objection raised to this term is that it is likely to give the public the idea that the schools to which it is applied are professing to do what they really are not doing. Many are likely to think that it means specific preparation for a definite vocation, when in reality it does not of necessity mean anything of the kind. A prevocational course is one which really prepares for vocational courses rather than for an actual vocation, and this distinction should be borne in mind. It should be remembered also that many of the children who take prevocational courses will get no other form of industrial or vocational training and that to these, prevocational courses should be vocational.

Purpose, organization, and method. These are well described in a circular issued by the Seattle board of education. From that circular the following is quoted: ¹

"The establishment of industrial or prevocational courses of study in several of the elementary schools was authorized by the board of directors several years ago. The classes organized in these new courses have been very successful. Reports received indicate that pupils have shown a greatly increased interest in school, and have done work of a higher rank than ever before.

"These courses of study relate much more to the industries for the boys and to household arts for the girls than the ordinary school course. Many parents desire to give their children the advantage of taking a course of study that provides for a training in these useful occupations, and a

¹ Leavitt and Brown, *Prevocational Education in the Public Schools*.

study of their economic and efficient application in life. They believe that such a course will furnish a much more satisfactory preparation for the duties of life than that afforded by the regular academic course. It will also furnish an adequate preparation for a higher education.

"In every school there are some boys and girls who prefer studies that employ their hands, and who have greater aptitude in such studies than their fellows. They advance in their development by what they do, rather than by what they hear. They are practical-minded. Many such children drop out of school as soon as the law permits, not from lack of ability, but because the school fails to fit its procedure to their particular needs. The establishment of these classes in industrial arts is an attempt to fit the school to the wants of this class of pupils.

"These new courses of study also provide a more practical prevocational training for a class of boys and girls in the public schools, who will receive the greatest benefit from instruction which will the soonest prepare them for training in a definite vocation. Such industrial classes are not substitutes for a trade school, but for those who desire it they will lead more quickly and surely to apprenticeship in business or trade than the regular classes, while those pupils who desire to continue their study either in the high school or special schools are prepared to do so.

"The school day is five hours, which is the same as for the other grade-school classes. Three hours of this time are spent upon the ordinary school studies, modified to suit the end aimed at in this plan, and two hours are devoted to the industrial and household arts — shop work and mechanical drawing for the boys; cookery, sewing, design and drawing for the girls. Separate classes are provided

for boys and girls because of the difference between their courses.

"The industrial work for girls will consist of plain sewing, repairing, garment cutting and fitting; the study of household linens, and other fabrics used in the home; the use of the sewing machine; class talks and discussions regarding clothing, its style, costs, and methods of manufacture, the sweatshop, trades and vocations for women; hygiene and home sanitation. There will also be the study of plain cooking, properties of foods, economy, table service, sanitation, laundry work, care of the home, etc. Class talks upon related topics of home life and its obligations, domestic service, income and expenditure will be a feature of this work.

"The rank of these courses will correspond to the seventh and eighth grades of the usual school course, and will require two years for completion. At the end of the two years pupils completing this work, who choose to continue their school studies, may enter the high school upon an equal footing with pupils entering from the regular academic courses.

"This course is open to any boy or girl thirteen years of age or over, who has completed the equivalent of the present sixth grade, provided that the parent or guardian makes a written request that the pupil take the industrial course and the principal of the school last attended by the pupil approves the request. The number of pupils in each industrial class is limited to twenty-four boys or twenty-four girls."

Prevocational classes in Boston public schools. It will now be pertinent to describe one or two typical experiments that have been conducted along the line of prevocational classes. Such classes are now (1914-15) being conducted in twenty-two

Boston public schools. The Washington Allston school was established in 1909, and as it has been in successful operation since that date it may be regarded as something more than an experiment. Alterations were made in the annex of the school, and the schoolhouse department supplied an equipment to enable the pupils to finish and furnish a working-man's home, and then to carry on the common household activities. The purpose of the work is to teach the pupils how to design and construct the material part of the home, and then to study how the best home life is made.

The schoolhouse department did all the heavy work. It cut out one partition and built in another, put in four windows and laid new floors in two rooms, installed a kitchen sink, four laundry tubs, a coal range with hot water, and built three closets. It then supplied lumber, burlap, and painters' supplies, sewing material, and the ordinary household kitchen equipment. Work was then begun with this new material. The walls were painted, the floors finished and dressed, and the furniture for five rooms was made by the boys. The work of the girls consisted of sewing the burlap used on the walls of two rooms, making the sheets, pillow cases, and coverings for the beds, making curtains, dishcloths, towels, and dusters. They also hemmed tablecloths and napkins, and worked monograms on them.

The housekeeping activities are carried on in a very practical way. The girls cook, wash, clean, iron, dust, decorate, and arrange, and all the while think about what they are doing and have a reason for everything they do. In addition to this work in housekeeping much attention is paid to cookery and serving meals. The girls make tables of costs of staple articles. They preserve fruit in large quantities with the cost estimated. They plan the cooking

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and serving of meals for from six to twenty people, and work out the exact cost of each meal. The meals and lunches are sold to the teachers in the school. The following is an illustration of a table of equivalents as worked out by the pupils:

Milk eight cents per quart = two cents per cup.
 Corn meal four cents per pound = one cent per cup.
 Granulated sugar six cents per pound = three cents per cup.
 Chocolate forty cents per pound = two and a half cents per square.
 Cocoa twenty cents per half pound = one quarter cent per teaspoonful.
 Rolled oats ten cents per package = one cent per cup.
 Baking powder 45 cents per pound = one quarter cent per teaspoonful.

A sample lunch for six persons with the cost worked out is as follows:

Creamed Salmon:

1 can salmon.....	\$0.22
1 pint milk at 8¢ per quart.....	.04
2 tablespoonfuls butter at 40¢ per pound.....	.02½

Mashed Potatoes:

1 quart potatoes at 96¢ per bushel.....	.03
One half cup of milk at 8¢ per quart.....	.01
3 tablespoonfuls butter at 40¢ per pound.....	.03½

Baking Powder Biscuits:

3 cups flour at 4¢ per pound.....	.03
6 teaspoonfuls baking powder at 42¢ per pound.....	.03
2 tablespoonfuls lard at 18¢ per pound.....	.01½
½ pound of butter at 40¢ per pound.....	.05
1½ cups of milk at 8¢ per quart.....	.02½

Tapioca Cream:

2½ tablespoonfuls tapioca at 10¢ per package.....	.01½
3 cups of milk at 8¢ per quart.....	.06
2 eggs at 36¢ per dozen.....	.06
½ cup of sugar at 6¢ per pound.....	.01½
1½ teaspoonfuls vanilla at 25¢ per bottle.....	.02½

Cocoa :

3 tablespoonfuls cocoa at 20¢ per can.....	\$0.01½
½ cup sugar at 6¢ per pound.....	.00½
2 cups milk at 8¢ per quart.....	.04
Total cost.....	<u>\$0.72½</u>

The sewing taken in this school is also of a very practical character. It is along shop lines, and the sewing machine is used to a great extent. The girls make simple wash dresses and undergarments for themselves. They have made children's flannel petticoats, nightdresses, aprons, sash curtains, and all kinds of household articles. The articles are sold for the actual cost of the materials, and the parents are most eager to purchase.¹ It must not be thought that all the time is devoted to this prevocational work. Due attention is paid to what are called the academic subjects.

Division of time. The usual school day is five hours, but, with the greater variety offered by this industrial work, no undue strain would be felt by the pupils if this were increased by at least one hour. On the basis of the six-hour day the division of time in the prevocational schools would be about as follows :

FIRST YEAR, CORRESPONDING TO GRADE SEVEN OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

	MIN. PER WEEK
Sewing — hand and machine, simple garment making....	225
Plain cooking and general housework.....	450
Design and drawing.....	225
Practical mathematics.....	225
English literature and composition.....	225
Geography.....	225
Opening exercises, music, physical study, etc.....	225
	<u>1800</u>

¹ Annual Reports of Superintendent of Boston Public Schools, 1910-15.

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SECOND YEAR, CORRESPONDING TO GRADE EIGHT OF THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

	MIN. PER WEEK
Sewing — hand and machine, garments, embroidery, textiles.....	225
Cooking (plain, fancy, invalid), housekeeping.....	450
Design.....	225
Practical mathematics.....	225
English literature and composition.....	225
History and civics.....	225
Opening exercises, music, hygiene, and study.....	225
	1800 ¹

It thus will be seen that a course of this character pays a fair amount of attention to the traditional academic studies, and lays an adequate foundation for entrance into trade and vocational schools. With reference to the influence of this work on academic studies the following statement is illuminating: "A surprising by-product of this prevocational instruction is improved academic results. These may be due to more definite aims and increased emphasis on essential phases of the regular studies. But the general opinion of teachers indicates that the classes have gained academically by the introduction of prevocational tasks and studies."²

The North Bennett Street Industrial School, Boston. This is a privately supported institution located in a congested tenement district of the city. Its work is very largely social, and early in its career the necessity for vocational education was discovered. In September, 1907, a class of fifty girls was received from one of the public schools of the city for ten hours a week of industrial training. Since that time various classes have been held in coöperation with the

¹ Report on Vocational Education in Chicago. City Club of Chicago.

² Report of Superintendent of Boston Public Schools, 1914.

public school board. The course of study for the pre-vocational classes now held is as follows:¹

FIRST YEAR

Sewing—hand and machine, simple garment making, study of materials.....	6	hours
Cooking and housekeeping.....	3	hours
Design.....	1	hour
Arithmetic.....	4	hours
Geography and history.....	3	hours
Literature, composition, and spelling.....	4½	hours
Gymnastics and hygiene.....	2½	hours
Total.....	23½	hours

SECOND YEAR

Sewing—hand and machine, garment making, embroidery, and textiles.....	6	hours
Cooking and housekeeping.....	3	hours
Design.....	1	hour
Arithmetic.....	4	hours
Business conditions and methods.....	1½	hours
Literature and composition.....	4½	hours
Civics.....	1½	hours
Hygiene, sanitation, and exercises.....	2½	hours
Total.....	23½	hours

Fifteen minutes allowed for daily recess.

The requirements of the girls determine the character of the sewing course. A study of materials is made and the girls select their own; each girl keeps an account of the cost, amount of material required, and time taken for each garment. In cookery, recipes for family amounts are used. The arithmetic is correlated with wage-earning under different conditions, calculating amounts and costs of materials, household and personal expenses, carpeting and papering, and other household problems. Lunches are served to a group of eight teachers in the neighborhood, and orders are

¹ Report of North Bennett Street Industrial School, 1912.

taken and filled for needlework, etc. Those who successfully complete this course are admitted to the Boston Trade School for girls with advanced standing. This prevocational plan is almost revolutionary in character and departs so far from the stereotyped organization of traditional educational systems that it could hardly be expected that it should have been received with universal favor.

Advantages and Disadvantages. The report of the superintendent of schools of the city of New York lists the advantages and disadvantages. Two advantages are given and five disadvantages. This prevocational training is now on trial in six or seven schools in New York. The idea is to give the children at the close of the sixth year of their school life a choice between the regular course, which leads to the high school, a commercial course leading directly to business, and a trade course in which the young students "try their hands" at four or five different trades during the seventh and eighth grades.

In most of these schools the school day consists of six hours and is divided according to what is known as the "Gary" plan. This provides that there shall be two school units in each school building. While the classes of one unit are in the classroom taking "more or less completely" the ordinary school work the classes of the other unit are engaged in play, athletics, industrial work, or general exercises in the assembly room. The report continues: "It is too early yet to pass judgment upon this plan of school work. It should, and will, have a fair trial. Its efficiency, however, must be determined not by its advocates, but by impartial judges after careful investigation and scientific testing. The ultimate test will be whether the ordinary school studies, which all civilized people grant are essential, reading, gram-

mar, arithmetic, history, geography, drawing, penmanship, spelling, are helped or hindered by the new plan."

All will not agree with the "ultimate test" proposed. It is quite possible that the new plan may have other objects in view than the helping or hindering of the "ordinary school studies." This expresses perhaps the common idea of some educationists that the purpose of the school is to teach reading, grammar, etc., but as a matter of fact the school exists for no such purpose. The sole justification for the expenditure of public money on the schools is that they may so train the pupils that they will be good citizens, and this purpose cannot be accomplished without adequate attention being paid to the means by which the future citizen is to earn his or her livelihood.

The objections urged against the prevocational plan in the report above referred to are somewhat as follows:

1. Experience has not shown that vocational work leads children to remain longer in school than does the regular work.

2. The plan will not reach the great majority of those children who leave school as soon as the law permits — at the close of their fourteenth year of age.

3. Children of less than fourteen years of age are neither mature nor experienced enough to make intelligent choice of subjects.

4. The training of the intellectual, moral, and physical powers is secured only in small part by the use of tools. It comes chiefly through the acquisition of knowledge, and the reactions of the mind upon the knowledge acquired.

5. The general introduction of prevocational training in the seventh and eighth years will probably result in not only a deterioration in all the different kinds of

school work, but also in the deterioration of training for efficiency.

The truth of the first objection may be very seriously questioned. In the first place the plan has not been at work long enough to allow of dogmatism, but the principle of interest which should obtain in all subjects of instruction would lead to the conclusion that to a certain type of boy and girl mind, training through industrial occupations makes a stronger appeal than the "ordinary studies." Prevocational pupils are generally concrete-minded. Its greatest advocates do not contend that this kind of training is best for all, but that it is best for some.

Many teachers and educational authorities still believe that intellectual development can only be secured through the performance of tasks which are disagreeable. In some vocational classes, pupils have been known to attend school during the whole of the summer holidays for seven and a half hours each day, and these were pupils to whom school was previously distasteful. When many such cases are found, is it not reasonable to suppose that school life will be prolonged?

In an investigation conducted under the auspices of the City Club of Chicago 205 boys in the night schools of the city were asked if they could have stayed in school had they cared to do so. More than ninety per cent said they had not left school because of the necessity of going to work, but because they were tired of school. The Massachusetts Commission of 1906 reported those who left school from necessity to be 2450 out of 5459, which means that over fifty-five per cent left school from choice.¹ "The purpose of giving prevocational education is always dual. It prolongs the

¹ Report on Vocational Education in Chicago. City Club of Chicago.

school life of the children, and it also fits them somewhat better to meet the conditions of occupational life, provided they enter such life, as they commonly do, before seventeen or eighteen years of age.”¹

The second objection is not well taken. If this prevocational education is given during the last two years of the elementary school course, it certainly has the effect of reaching those who leave school as soon as the law permits, and this is precisely one of the objects the training was introduced to accomplish. Many of those who now leave school at fourteen years of age have not the slightest idea of the work for which they are fitted. They have hazy notions, but no experience on which to base an opinion. This training, by giving them an opportunity, not to specialize, but to try several kinds of work, will probably open the way to a more sane choice of a suitable occupation. Many of the pupils may discover that they are not suited for any of the vocations offered, and this result would probably be no less beneficial.

In a report on vocational training in Chicago by the City Club of that city the following recommendations are made:²

1. An industrial course giving one third of the time to shop work and drawing for boys, and to household arts and design for the girls, the remainder of the time being devoted to academic studies. Thirty hours (sixty min.) a week.

2. A commercial course giving one third of the time to bookkeeping, business arithmetic, typewriting, and hand-work, and the remainder of the time to related academic studies. Thirty hours (sixty min.) per week.

These are intended to be differentiated courses of study

¹ Leavitt and Brown, *Prevocational Education in Public Schools*.

² Report on Vocational Education in Chicago. City Club of Chicago.

for grades seven and eight, and it is recommended that they admit to any course now offered in the high schools. If recommendations of this character are carried out, the resulting schools and classes will surely reach that large number who leave school at fourteen years of age. It will, of course, be contended that specialization at too early an age is being advocated, but for a large percentage of children "fate decrees specialization without preparation at the end of the compulsory school term." Plans of the prevocational type "would substitute the specialization of school for the specialization of industry."

It is further contended that children of less than fourteen years of age are not competent to make a choice of either trade or subject. This is true to a certain extent, but the prevocational plan does not require the children to make choice. Most prevocational classes require each pupil to take all the subjects offered — academic as well as industrial — and specialization is not allowed in any one of them for any part of the two-year course.

The fourth objection, that the training of the mind comes through the acquisition of knowledge and the reaction of the mind upon the knowledge acquired, applies only to the book-minded student, but the hand-minded or concrete minded student cannot acquire knowledge in this way, and the large number previously referred to as leaving school because they were tired of it very probably belong to this class. The agitation for industrial education of all kinds, and the present demand for prevocational training, is a protest against the argument that knowledge can be acquired only from books, and the intelligent use of tools whether of the shop or the household, is now generally admitted to be educational.

The argument that prevocational training will result in a general deterioration of the usual school subjects is not borne out by the facts. Prevocational training makes possible a longer school day, and the experience of the Boston schools that prevocational classes have brought about an improvement in the academic studies shows that this fear is unwarranted. Considering the fact that the large majority of the pupils leave school at fourteen or younger, to enter into some form of industrial occupation, generally non-educational, the establishment of prevocational classes is probably one of the most promising efforts that has yet been made to give some differentiated form of training that will definitely equip either for the home or industry. The success that schools and classes of this type have met with warrants their general extension to the educational system of every town and city.

The junior high school. Another objection to the term "prevocational" is that it is entirely unnecessary, and that all that such schools profess to accomplish can be done more readily and with greater efficiency in the so-called "Junior High School" or "Intermediate" school which is being established in great numbers throughout the country. These schools are an attempt to make an equal division of the twelve years of general education between the elementary and the secondary schools. The movement seems to have been initiated by E. W. Lyttle, who at the National Education Association in 1905 argued that "secondary education should begin as soon as the elementary pupil has acquired the tools with which he may gain a higher education."

The eight-four plan. The present distribution, of eight years to the elementary school and four years to the sec-

ondary school, is generally accepted as an accident, and finds no justification in comparative education, psychology, or the logical demands of local conditions. There is considerable dissatisfaction with the work of the seventh and eighth grades. It is charged that there is a lack of real progress in these grades, and that the large mortality of pupils in the first year of the high school is due, not to the arbitrary course or to the poor teaching in the upper school; but, rather, to the fact that the preparatory school has not done its full duty.

Break between elementary and secondary schools. The break now comes for a great many children about the time that the compulsory education law ceases to hold them in school, and for the majority at the time when the changes of adolescence are demanding satisfaction. Differentiated courses must be introduced here or the children leave school. Children of this age differ very much in ability, interests, and ambitions, and the boast of democracy that it offers equal opportunities to all is not fulfilled unless it offers to the pupils what is best calculated to advance them in this particular stage of their development. In offering facilities for this differentiation the junior high school has great possibilities.

Definition. The junior high school has been defined "as an organization of grades seven and eight, or seven to nine, to provide by various means for individual differences, especially by an earlier introduction of prevocational work, and of subjects usually taught in the high school." If schools of this type are generally established and they live up to their definition, the problem of the industrial education of girls from thirteen to fifteen or sixteen will be very largely solved and separate prevocational schools will not

be necessary. The high school has a certain reputation and prestige among the people, and the junior high school will share this prestige, while the prevocational school will bear for some time the suspicion that it is a school for the "working classes."

Advantages of the junior high school. Four major claims are made for the junior high school. First that it makes much better provision for the individual differences of pupils; second, that it makes much easier the transition to the high school and renders the change less abrupt; third, that it materially lessens the number of pupils eliminated from the school system; and fourth, that it furnishes the opportunity for various reforms in the curriculum, which are difficult to obtain by the present arrangement. Records from junior high schools that have been established go to show that the above claims are not unwarranted. To take pupils from grades seven, eight, and nine, for reasons of economy or congestion, and house them in a separate building while retaining the present curriculum, does not merit being called a junior high school.

Adaptability to vocational training. It is now generally admitted that prevocational work should begin in the seventh grade, strictly vocational work being deferred until the ninth or tenth grade. The junior high school would thus provide a proper administrative unit for the effective conduct of prevocational work. Such schools will serve as try-out schools. In the three grades constituting the junior high school, cultural, informational, and prevocational instruction may be so combined as to enable pupils to make intelligent choice with reference to more advanced general and vocational courses. The work of vocational schools can properly begin here. These prevocational courses should

be so organized as to furnish, to pupils who desire them, opportunities to acquire definite knowledge of the most important industrial, commercial, and household arts. The report of the Evansville Vocational Survey says, "The training in each of the several manual arts should be varied in kind and grade, but should for each line of work be sufficient in amount and be continued over a period sufficiently protracted to have real disciplinary value and to provide an experience for each pupil upon the basis of which an intelligent selection of a vocation may be made with reference to the personal qualifications of the child."¹

The junior high school is probably the greatest advance that has been made in recent years in educational organization towards breaking down the artificial distinction between "liberal" and "cultural" and in offering facilities for the adequate vocational training of girls.

Homemaking training in vocational schools. The problem here is a somewhat complicated one, as these schools are generally established for the main purpose of giving immediate wage-earning capacity, and many educators question the advisability of including homemaking training in the curricula of such schools. It is contended that the aim of the vocational school is to train wage-earners for self-support, and that in the time available it is not possible to include homemaking without sacrificing the wage-earning ability and sending out the pupil less efficiently prepared for her work. It is also contended by some that sufficient time is given to the household arts in the elementary and secondary schools and for this reason it is not necessary to take up time which should be spent on direct wage-earning courses.

¹ Indiana Survey Series, No. 4.

It must be admitted that there is considerable force in the first of these objections. The economic condition of many of the pupils attending the trade or vocational schools is such that they must enter upon wage-earning at the earliest possible moment. In some of the intensive trade schools the course varies from one year to three months. If the attempt were made in such schools to give in this short time homemaking courses, and also to train a girl to succeed in any trade that would offer a living wage and any opportunity for promotion, both would fail. But fortunately home training for women touches trade training at many points. It is the general complaint of employers that their workers lack initiative, stability, and power of concentration, and these are qualities which should be developed both in trade training and training for the home. If the home conditions of every pupil admitted are known, much can be done to improve these conditions by visitation, while the girl is in attendance at the school, and by follow-up work after she has entered the industry. Much can also be done in connection with the work in health and hygiene which should form part of the training in all trade schools.

The success of the worker, particularly the girl worker, depends so much on her physical condition and the state of her health that great attention to these subjects is warranted.

The Manhattan Trade School for Girls. The Manhattan Trade School for Girls may be regarded as the pioneer of the modern trade schools for girls. Much attention is paid to the physical life of each student, her family history, and the kind of home life she leads. Each girl is watched, and those who need it are frequently examined, and the proper treatments of exercise, diet, and living are prescribed. A course in lunch room cookery is closely connected with this

health course. In this course no elaborate equipment is used, but that found in the homes of the pupils is taken as the standard. Each group of students has training in cooking daily for a number of weeks, and intense concentration, economy of time, and the feeling of responsibility which each student has, assists in making the best use of the time available. In groups they cook for the lunch room, set the table, serve, and sell the lunch, and do all the required cleaning up afterwards. Inexpensive breakfasts are also prepared and served. Close connection is also made between the academic work of the school and home training.

The plan of work is as follows :

1. Twenty girls are chosen at one time. These work in two groups of ten each, and for six weeks have daily one-hour lessons. This gives them thirty lessons, which is about one half that offered by the public school in a year, but being concentrated into daily work and practical use of the lunch room, it is of equal, if not greater, efficiency.
2. The students set the tables, cook a definite part of the lunch, dish the articles, prepare the counters, sell the various dishes, keep and report sales, and clear the counters afterwards. The groups alternate, in order that preparing food, watching its progress, and taking it from the stove may be done by all with a minimum loss of time from their trade instruction.
3. The selection of the girls to take the course is made from (a) those who can remain long enough in the school to combine trade training with the simple cooking course ; (b) those who have such poor health that a knowledge of what to eat and how to cook it is the first consideration ; and (c) those who are already little housekeepers in their homes, as their mothers are incapacitated or dead.

The closest connection is maintained between the academic and the practical. In the academic work in arithmetic, for example, such problems are used as the keeping of accounts, use of wages, estimates for the economical buying of food and clothing, saving of money, making out of bills, checks, and receipts, and buying and selling in general. These and similar problems are just as essential in developing an intelligent home life as they are in training for ability in industry. It thus will be seen, that even in the short course trade school much attention can be given to this most essential feature in the education of the girl. Such an introduction to the subject has the further advantage of so interesting the girl that she may be induced to make a more extended study of the subject after she has actually entered industry.

In view of the facts that in the elementary schools the course is only given in the seventh and eighth grades, and that a large number of pupils leave before those grades are reached, and that even when the subject is taken, the time spent is only about one and a half hours per week, *i.e.*, in a year of forty weeks only about sixty hours can be devoted to this subject, and that even this limited time is further broken into by various holidays and absences, it cannot be seriously contended that adequate time is devoted to the subject in the public schools.

Milwaukee School of Trade for Girls. In cities where the wage-earning problem is less acute than it is in New York, girls enter trade schools with a higher academic standing and can stay longer, thus allowing more time for the study of the household arts, which perhaps have not such an immediate wage-earning value. The Milwaukee Public School of Trades for Girls is an example of a school which offers a

two years' course. Girls of fourteen years of age are admitted to the school, and must be able to read and write in English and perform the fundamental operations of arithmetic. Graduates from the eighth grade of the public schools are admitted without examination, and are given preference over applicants who have not had such preparation. Instruction is given in dressmaking and millinery, but all students are required to take a certain amount of academic work supplementary to this, and household arts instruction in addition. The school year consists of eleven months and the ordinary school week of twenty-five or twenty-seven and one half hours is increased to thirty-five hours. Three fifths of the time is spent in actual shop practice and the remaining two fifths in the supplementary work required.

A complete course is given in the household arts, which is divided into cookery, lunch room work, serving, and general housekeeping. The purpose of this course is said to be¹ "to stimulate an interest in wholesome economical food; to teach the food principles; to teach principles of planning, cooking, and serving in a practical manner; to raise the standard of living; to give a general knowledge of housekeeping; to develop responsibility, punctuality, cleanliness of person, and neatness in work; to make a better home-maker out of a trade worker." The lunch room course is planned to give practical work in following recipes; planning of menus; buying and cost of materials; preparation of foods in large and small amounts; practice in the preparation of bread, cakes, cereals, cheese, desserts, eggs, entrées, fish, meat, pastry, poultry, preserves, salads, sauces, soups, and vegetables.

¹ Milwaukee Public School of Trades for Girls, Prospectus, 1911-12.

The serving includes attractive table setting; table decoration for special purposes; dainty serving of lunch to large and small numbers; practice in home and cafeteria serving. The general housework includes the usual household activities, and the care of all the rooms in the house. Evening classes are also held in which the same course is given. Part-time classes are held in addition.

*Shoreditch Trade School for Girls.*¹ The Shoreditch Trade School (London, England) is a type which gives a two-year trade course, in which adequate provision is made for training in household arts. The school is open six and a half hours a day for five days in the week, and for forty-one weeks in the year. About two thirds of the time is devoted to general instruction, and the remaining third to general education usually evolved from the actual requirements of the trade chosen. The school is intended for girls who leave the elementary school at fourteen years of age. The household arts instruction differs in many respects from the plan generally followed. The course is compulsory and is intended to give the girls a thorough knowledge of the economic and efficient management of a home. The equipment consists of a regular home flat which is provided in the school building. Each girl lives in this flat for six full weeks during the school year, so that she learns by practical experience the application of the lessons learned in the various classes. In the flat one girl is housekeeper and is expected to carry on the home at a fixed rate, doing all the buying, providing all the supplies, and supervising the preparation of the food, and she is responsible for the general management. This course is maintained at a cost of

¹ "Some Trade Schools in Europe." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 23.

eight pence (sixteen cents) per day per pupil. Each girl has her own bedroom, and is expected to care for it. The girls are allowed to visit their homes at different periods, but all other time is spent in the school under the care of a teacher who herself lives in the building.¹ This plan of actually living in the flat or apartment is, as has been said, not general; but it points the way to a method of obtaining that practice of the household arts which is lacking in the majority of courses offered.

Albany Vocational School. A four-year course is offered here, open to all girls of thirteen years of age and over. Most enter from grades six and seven at the age of fourteen. The time spent in work relating to the household arts is as follows:

First year, corresponding to grade seven of the elementary school, 225 minutes at sewing, the same time for design, and 450 minutes for cooking and general housework per week. In the second year the time for cooking and design is the same, but six hundred minutes per week are devoted to needle-work. In the third and fourth years specialized work is allowed, either in millinery, dressmaking, or the other household arts, to which ten hours per week are devoted in addition to five hours spent on design. The remaining time in each year is spent in general academic subjects.²

Girls in groups of twenty-five take charge of the kitchen, and serve noon lunches to the teachers and pupils. All the work is done by the pupils — planning, marketing, buying, and cooking. A cashier and assistant cashier, both pupils, keep the accounts and do the banking. The lunches are sold at two cents per piece and the average lunch bought

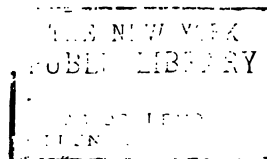
¹ "Some Trade Schools in Europe." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 23.

² Report on Vocational Education in Chicago. Chicago City Club.



CLASS IN HOMEMAKING.

Courtesy of Albany Vocational School.



amounts to six cents. Each group of girls serves for two weeks. In addition to this lunch-room practice, the girls take orders for bread, cake, pastry, etc. Both kitchen and dining-room are equipped in very simple style, and all the work is done on the workshop plan rather than that of the schoolroom, and is therefore much more effective from a practical point of view.

The sewing is carried on in a large schoolroom which has been fitted with work tables and five sewing machines. The girls are taught to make a variety of simple garments for themselves or members of their families as well as articles used in the home or in the school. The course also includes cutting by patterns and the making of simple drafts. The study of fabrics is also part of the course, especially those made from cotton and wool, and the girls are taught something of their manufacture, quality, patterns, dyes, widths, and uses. The girls hem all the table linen and curtains used by the school. They take orders for window curtains with stenciled borders, aprons, children's clothing, shirt waists, etc. Many of the pupils bring sewing from their homes and do it in the school shop. Practical application is made of the principles of design in the work of these classes. Curtains, borders, doilies, attractive spacing of tucks, ruffles, and embroidery, proper combinations of color and trimmings for dresses, candle shades, pillow covers, and many other designs worked out in the classes are practically applied in the shops.

Four examples have been given of typical vocational schools having courses varying from one year, or less, to four years and it is seen that in all of them the household arts are stressed as far as the time available permits. These examples afford proof of the almost universal opinion that the training of the girl cannot be considered as reasonably

efficient, unless adequate attention be given to that form of industry in which all women expect sooner or later to be engaged.

Schools for homemakers. It now remains to consider that type of school which is entirely devoted to homemaking. Schools restricted entirely to this purpose are few. This is accounted for largely by the fact that, before women enter upon homemaking as their life work they spend several years in some wage-earning pursuit, and also by the fact that the ability to manage a home efficiently and economically is supposed to come by instinct and intuition, and that therefore no training is needed for it.

In order to show the difficulties encountered and some of the prejudices met with, the experience of the School of Domestic Science and Domestic Art, Rochester, New York, may be mentioned. This school was opened in September, 1909, by the city board of education and the state division of trade schools as a school for homemakers. After it had been running some time, the pupils formed the idea that they were being trained for domestic service, and became dissatisfied. There was also a tendency on the part of other schools to send undesirable and dull pupils, and this naturally increased the dissatisfaction. For these reasons the school was entirely reorganized in 1910, the home-making courses made incidental, and instruction in dress-making and millinery was made the principal purpose of the school.

*The Stout Institute of Menominee, Wisconsin.*¹—A training school for teachers of the household arts was established here in 1903, and four years' experience in the management

¹ "A School for Homemakers." Report of Commissioner of Education, Washington, 1911.

of that school led to the conclusion that there were many young women who did not wish to take the professional and academic training necessary to qualify as teachers of the subject, but were anxious to acquire a practical knowledge of, and training in, all that pertains to the management of a home. In order to meet this demand a school for homemakers was opened in September, 1907. This school was "planned to meet the needs of any young woman who expects at some time to have charge of a home; who realizes the value of systematic and practical study and training for the proper discharge of the responsibilities which the woman in the home must meet, and who cannot pursue such study and secure such training outside a school organized for this specific purpose. This will include the graduates of the university, college, professional and secondary school, and those who have not graduated from any of these institutions, but whose maturity, education, and capacity are such as to enable them to do the required work in a satisfactory manner."¹

The Stout Institute buildings with which the school is connected are well equipped for carrying on the laboratory and lecture-room work related to the course offered, and all the facilities of the institute are open to the students of the course.

The scope of the work is very broad, and the subjects are grouped under the following heads: the house; food study and cooking; clothing and household fabrics; care of children; home nursing and emergencies; home and social economics. As examples of the wide interpretation placed on each of these divisions let us consider in more detail the courses offered in the care of children and in home and social economics.

¹ Homemaker's Bulletin, Stout Institute, Vol. 4, No. 2.

The responsibility and care of children in their earliest years usually come to women young in years and lacking in experience, and owing to this, and the vital importance of the subject to the welfare of the nation, it would seem that some more adequate preparation than the mere intuition of motherhood should be given for the undertaking of this great responsibility. If this training were more generally given, and the economic conditions of life were such that all women could take advantage of it, the result upon the physical, moral, and mental well-being of the nation would be incalculable, and parents would not be so anxious to shoulder their responsibilities upon the school. The time may come when a course in child rearing and training is a prerequisite to the issue of a marriage license. Incidentally it may be said that there is almost as much need for such a course to be taken by the future father as by the future mother.

The curriculum offered includes a study of child nutrition, of the hygiene of childhood including bathing, clothing, amount of sleep, exercise, amount of pure air, regularity of habit, absolute cleanliness of the individual, and the environment; the consideration of infant diseases and emergencies; and the selection, making, and care of clothing. It also includes a definite and distinctive study of child psychology. A study is also made of child literature under the following headings: the different classes of children's books; the interests and values of each class; the art of story-telling; a brief sketch of the history of children's books; the art of leading the child from a certain interest in reading to a related line of reading; and the tests of a wholesome book for children of varying ages.

The course in home and social economics recognizes the fact that the woman maintains ethical, social, and indus-

trial relationships with the members of her family, and with society outside the home, and in order that she may perform her duties in both these fields, she must have a knowledge of existing conditions and the best means of modifying them, when such modification is necessary. All the work prescribed in the official course of study is not given to any one class. Only such parts are studied as seem best adapted to the needs and capacities of the particular class, but the work is taken with every class so that it may develop methods of study and arouse interest that will lead to further work after the course is completed. The course is commenced with a discussion of the evolution of the house, the home, and the family, and definition of the term "social economy." Women's industrial relationships in the home and in the community outside the home are discussed in great detail. The "servant problem" as it affects the comfort and health of the household is then dealt with. Much attention is given to the spending of money as the chief economic function of woman to-day. Many other topics are discussed and studied, the whole aim of the course being the training of the girl of to-day so that she may become the woman of influence of to-morrow, and able to exert that influence not only in her own family but in the community in which she lives.

The practical side of the work is given great attention. The students are housed in two cottages which have been provided and furnished for their accommodation. These also provide at the same time facilities for the practical training in homemaking. Each student cares for her own room, and sufficient training is given in the care of the other rooms to make her thoroughly familiar with all the requirements of good housekeeping. In the senior year each

student acts as housekeeper for a stated period, purchasing supplies, keeping accounts, preparing menus, and directing the work of the servants. The director of the school lives in one of the cottages. The practice work is required not for the sake of having the work done, but in order to give the essential training. Room rent is sixty dollars a year. The tuition fee is one hundred dollars a year, and there are also the usual incidental fees for laboratory, materials, diplomas, etc. From what has been said regarding direction of servants and the fees charged, it will be seen that this school is intended for a class that is able to pay such fees, and thus though its usefulness is very great, its activities are limited to that class — perhaps the class that is in least need of such instruction.

Homemaking courses in the agricultural colleges. Many of the agricultural colleges provide homemaking courses lasting for from three months to two years. For example, the agricultural college at Guelph, Ontario, Canada, in addition to the normal course for the training of teachers offers three courses for homemakers — three months, one year, and two years in length. These courses are all planned for girls who are able to live in their own homes and desire to fit themselves for the duties of the homemaker. The short courses are limited to a few practical subjects, but are thorough as far as they go. The equipment includes a suitably furnished apartment in which all the practical details of housekeeping are learned.

These schools do not perhaps train for direct wage-earning pursuits, but many of the girls who have been trained therein are earning their living in one of the many branches of household service. For example, in many of the smaller cities and towns the seamstress and dressmaker

who travels from house to house is in constant demand and earns from one dollar and a half to two dollars a day with generally one or two meals furnished. Others are engaged in tea-room work, lunch-room work, the management of summer camps. These and many other activities may be looked upon as by-products of the training in household arts.

Homemaking schools in Denmark. Homemaking schools of a rather novel type are to be found in Denmark. These homemaking schools are for the purpose of training young women for the duties of housekeeping and homemaking, mainly, in farm homes. There are a number of these schools throughout the country and they are, as a rule, like the "People's High Schools," private institutions, owned and managed almost entirely by the director and his wife, who are the chief instructors. The school near Askov may be described as typical of the rest.

Two courses are held during the year, each lasting five months. Twenty young women are admitted to each course and are mostly from the families of farmers who own and cultivate farms of from thirty to sixty acres. The students live in the institution. The cost of the course including board is two hundred kroner (fifty-four dollars) per pupil. The subjects taken are housekeeping, cooking, sewing, dressmaking, gardening, poultry keeping, and dairy work. The twenty pupils are divided into three groups. One group spends one month in the family kitchen, that is the kitchen which is used for the family of the principal and the teachers. The group of students is allowed fifty-five öre (thirteen cents) per day for each person in the group. They are expected to provide and serve wholesome meals within that amount. During that month another group of

pupils spends its time as follows: one week in the institution kitchen, receiving instruction and gaining experience by practice. The following week, the forenoons are spent in cleaning the rooms and preserving fruits, and the afternoons in gardening or other outside work. The third week is again spent in the institution kitchen. The fourth week the forenoons are devoted to the care of the rooms with sewing and dressmaking, and the afternoons to laundry work. The pupils of the third group take the same kind of work as those of the second group, alternating with them in the institution kitchen. The following month the second group changes with the first group, and in the next month the third group has its chance in the family kitchen. The six or seven pupils in each group stay together as a group during the whole of the course.

The following table illustrates how a day is spent:

FIRST GROUP

5.45.....Rise: arrange rooms.
 6.30.....Oatmeal breakfast with morning singing.
 7 to 8.....Housecleaning and laying table for family.
 8.....Breakfast of family and teachers.
 8.30 to 9.30..Lecture.
 9.30 to 12....Practical work in the kitchen.
 12 to 2.....Dinner and cleaning up.
 2 to 3.30....Rest or recreation.
 3.30.....Coffee.
 4 to 5.....Lecture.
 5 to 8.....Free, except for those who in turn prepare the supper.
 8 to 8.30....Supper.

SECOND AND THIRD GROUPS

5.45.....Rise: arrange rooms.
 6.30.....Oatmeal breakfast with morning singing.
 7 to 7.45....Theoretical instruction as to what is to be done during the day.

- 8.30 to 9.30...Lecture.
9.30 to 12....Practical work — cleaning rooms, preserving fruits, or
 alternate weeks sewing and dressmaking. (Three
 of the group lay the table for dinner.)
12.....Dinner.
1 to 3.30....Gardening or other outside work; on alternate weeks,
 work in the laundry.
3.30.....Coffee.
4 to 5.....Lecture.
5 to 8.....Free time.
8 to 8.30....Supper.

In addition to the above, students are expected to read a great deal, to write reports, and to make various calculations in connection with the work they do. At the beginning of the course ten periods are devoted to general instruction. After that, while they are working in groups, all the twenty pupils receive instruction in one class during the lecture periods. During the course twenty-five dinners are studied with regard to the nutritive value of the foods of which they are composed. The value of the food is fixed at from six to seven cents for a two-course dinner per person. Each group receives instruction in cookery for invalids during some part of the course.

Each student has a plot of about 25 feet by 18 feet in the garden, for practice and instruction, and grows some of all the common vegetables. Besides these plots, there are larger plots which are rented by the groups of students from the director, worked by themselves, and used to provide most of the vegetables for their food. This is done for the sake of economy, and also for the training which the girls receive in management in all its applications. In addition to these five-month courses, short courses of fourteen days each are given three times during the year. The director of this school is a strong believer in the advantages

CHAPTER VII

THE BOYCOTT OF THE KITCHEN, OR THE DOMESTIC SERVANT PROBLEM

- I. Introduction.
- II. A neglected question.
- III. Dislike of domestic service.
- IV. An old problem.
- V. Mistress and maid.
- VI. Making household service attractive.
- VII. Coöperative housekeeping.

Introduction. In many of the current discussions on vocational education it is tacitly assumed that there is an insatiable demand for highly skilled labor and that if we train all our boys and girls to become skilled laborers, remunerative positions are waiting to swallow them up. It is this assumption — implied if not expressed — that forms the text of our discussions and the basis of our action. As a matter of fact in the present economic condition of society and the intense specialization of industry a large majority of workers are forever doomed to earn their livelihood in so-called unskilled employments. It has been estimated that there are probably more than twenty million persons in the United States engaged in unskilled occupations.¹ It is a question whether we should not devote some of our attention towards enabling these workers to so order their lives outside their industry that they will be able to really

¹ Report of Royal Commission on Industrial Education. Ottawa, 1913.

live. Just as in our systems of education we have devoted our attention to that very small majority who have the university as their goal, so we have in our systems of industrial education concentrated our attention on that small majority whom the industries will be able to absorb as skilled workers, which is a case of the tail wagging the dog.

Another illustration of the same tendency is the prominence that is given in all discussions of household affairs to the so-called servant problem. It would be difficult to find any meeting of housewives where the question did not come up in some form or other. Those who have servants complain of their inefficiency, and others deplore the fact that they cannot obtain them. When we come to consider the real facts of the case, it is found that only eight per cent of the homes of the country employ servants regularly.¹ It is readily admitted that this proportion would be much larger if competent help could be obtained, yet even making all allowances for the shortage of supply, the demand would not warrant the attention the question receives, were it not that considerations other than mere numbers enter into the problem. Notwithstanding avowals to the contrary, it is probably the ambition of the majority of women to be able to "keep a servant." We are fond of boasting that our democratic society does not admit of class distinctions, yet in the matter of household management it is really this eight per cent that sets the pace, as it were, for our manner of life and the ways of running our households.

A neglected question. Less attention has been given to this question of providing efficient help in the house than to any other of the many problems that make up the whole field of industrial and vocational education. This is prob-

¹ Pattison, Mary, *Principles of Domestic Engineering*.

ably accounted for by the fact that it involves social and economic questions which it is dangerous to handle. The home has long been looked upon as sacred ground, and the idea expressed by the phrase "the Englishman's home is his castle" has strongly influenced the social organization on this continent. Once inside the doors of the home the inmates consider themselves free from all interference and entitled to do as they please, yet as a matter of fact the same principles of national welfare which have led to the government regulation of industry would justify the application of the law to many households. The factory law and the eight-hour day are needed in many kitchens, but owing to the timidity of politicians and the conservatism and jealousy of housekeepers all industrial legislation has passed the home by, notwithstanding the fact that domestic service is still numerically the most important occupation for woman.

Dislike of domestic service. There can be no doubt that girls and young women are manifesting an increasing disinclination to look upon domestic service, of any other kind than mistress of their own homes, as a possible and desirable means of earning a livelihood. The causes which have brought about this condition are many, but they may be briefly enumerated as follows:

Greater opportunities outside. Greater opportunities are now opened up to women outside the home. In the last fifty years over three hundred occupations have been made accessible to them, and the number of these occupations is constantly increasing. During the past two years more than 766,000 women have replaced men in industrial occupations in Great Britain.¹ There are probably more than six million women in the United States earning their

¹ United States Department of Labor. *Monthly Review*, December, 1916.

living outside the home, and the conditions under which they work, offering as they do regular hours, spare time, and freedom to spend it as they wish, appeal to young girls more than do the conditions under which ordinary housework is at present performed.

Social stigma. The social stigma attached to the position of "servant" deters girls from entering this field. The girl feels herself placed almost at the bottom of the social order while employed as a domestic. There can be no question that certain social opportunities and privileges are enjoyed by those employed in the factory or store that are not open to those in domestic service, owing largely to unity of action on the part of factory workers, and the established customs of the employment. In the days of the old colonial home there was a real sympathetic relationship between mistress and maid, and in industry there is to-day a well-defined relationship, though often not sympathetic, between employer and employee; but the old relationship between mistress and maid has disappeared and has not yet been replaced by that existing between employer and employee. The very names used to describe this worker — "servant," "maid-of-all-work," "slavey," "hired girl," "Bridget" — show the contempt with which the occupation is popularly regarded. Household service was once performed by slaves and menials, and we have not yet appreciated the fact that it is performed so no longer. In one of the latest standard encyclopedias domestic servants are described as "servants usually occupied in menial work in or about a household." Housework properly performed is not menial.

A recent magazine article referring to this social ostracism records an interview with a maid who does not agree with the

prevailing opinion that domestic service implies loss of social position. She says, "I have kept every friend I had in the days when I did the same work in my own home. If you will analyze the dissatisfaction expressed by servants, you will find usually that they want to be the social equals of their employers. This is a demand that is not made by any other class of employees. I attempted bookkeeping for a man one time, but I made no quarrel because his wife did not invite me to her table, or take me with her to make afternoon calls. Now why should I expect more of the people who employ me to do their housework? It is a business proposition pure and simple. They have their circle of friends and I have mine."

"I do not think I should mind having my servants at the table," the interviewer said, "or even sitting with the family around the evening fire, if they did not go out and repeat all our domestic affairs."

"That is where servants are guilty of a great wrong," she replied with the spirit of a champion of the down-trodden. "Sometime I think I will start an organization among them, that shall have ethical training as its basis. There is no more excuse for a house-servant to tell the domestic affairs abroad than there is for a private secretary to tell business secrets."

The maid who expressed the above ideas was evidently of a high type, and her opinion of her work and its status can hardly be regarded as general though highly desirable. While a change of name would not immediately change the popular appreciation of the work and the worker, yet in time it might do so. The term "industrial" was once applied almost solely to reformative institutions, but now it is applied to a form of education admittedly necessary and bene-

ficial. The term "maid" does not carry with it the contempt implied in the other terms mentioned. Professor William A. McKeever suggests the term "household assistant" for application to a new kind of help for the household yet to be evolved by the agency of public education for domestic service.

Long and irregular hours. The long and irregular hours during which the helper has to work also prevents many who really have a liking for housework from undertaking domestic service. A recent investigation, conducted by Miss Henrietta Roelofs for the Young Women's Christian Association into the condition and state of mind of girls employed in the households of the United States, warrants the conclusion that there is little objection to the amount of work required. The main objection was found to be the irregular periods of time over which the work was spread. As one girl expressed it, "Most maids could accomplish more work in less hours — if they had regular hours."

The investigation consisted largely of a series of questions given to 299 self-supporting young women, 112 in household work, 137 in factories, fifteen in department stores, and thirty-five in offices, living in seventeen different cities and the final conclusion of the investigator is as follows: "A young girl's life consists of her family, her companions, her recreation, her ambition to be somebody, to improve herself, her finding herself a place in social groups, the church, the club, the union, the neighborhood. An ambitious, self-respecting young woman is willing, is eager to sell her labor but never her life. Make it possible for the household worker to sell her labor for more or less different pieces of time so that she may have equal opportunity for self-direction and self-development with the office, store, and factory workers, and

household employment will be able to compete successfully with the store and factory. When this is accomplished, the so-called servant problem will have disappeared. Ambitious, intelligent young women will be re-attracted to household work; with the competition for positions will come the opportunity to demand skill and training. Above all, home life will no longer be at the mercy of housework. The burden of placing housework on this new basis rests with the employer.

Lack of sympathetic consideration. In many homes, particularly those in which one maid only is employed, the girl receives little sympathetic consideration from the different members of the household. She is compelled to live in her employer's home, and is often given the poorest accommodation in the house for a sleeping place. Owing to a certain mental attitude, she has a constant feeling of inferiority, and this is not conducive to cheerful and efficient performance of duty. The mistress herself has not, in many instances, the ability to train a maid properly, and many of those that have the ability object to using it in this direction, on the ground that directly the maid becomes efficient she leaves, if offered a slightly higher wage. There are many other causes to account for the present situation, but those given are probably sufficient to explain in some measure the increasing disinclination of young girls and women for this form of occupation.

An old problem. This domestic service problem, like many others connected with industry, is not at all new. Ninety years ago societies "for the encouragement of faithful domestic servants" were organized in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. These societies acted as employment offices, and provided prizes for servants who remained the longest time in one place. The New York Society (1826)

gave a Bible at the end of the first year, three dollars at the end of the second year, and a dollar added for each successive year until the seventh, when the sum was raised to ten dollars. These societies were philanthropic and moral organizations, and their chief work seems to have been mainly designed towards securing obedience and deference to the employers. A writer in the *Christian Inquirer* of May 6, 1826, states, "The Society appear to think that there is a certain species of mankind born for the use of the remainder, and they talk of employing them as they would a breed of horned cattle." The society offered "friendly advice to servants" such as the following:

"Never quit a place on your own accord, except on such account that in distress or death you think you did right.

"Be moderate in your wages; many very good places are lost by asking too much.

"If you cannot pray as well as you would, be sure every night and morning to do it as well as you can.

"Rise early and your services will give more satisfaction.

"Be modest and quiet, not talkative and presuming.

"Don't spend any part of the Sabbath in idleness or walking about for pleasure.

"Watch against daintiness.

"Be always employed, for Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do.

"Keep your temper and tongue under government; never give your employer a sharp answer, nor be in haste to excuse yourself.

"Leave every place respectfully; it is your duty."

It will be seen that all this "friendly advice" was "too much on one side, tending more to the advantage of the hirer than the hired."

When the Philadelphia Society was formed, a writer in the *Mechanics Free Press* suggested that a society to encourage "faithful employers" would be more likely to accomplish the desired purpose. "There is quite as much propriety," he said, "that those who employ should produce certificates of capacity, correctness, etc., as those who are employed. . . . From an experience of nearly 20 years as an employer I am led to conclude that there is in this case less to be complained of on the part of the employer than the employed."¹

Mistress and maid. In the consideration of this question there are two essential factors — the mistress and the maid. At present each blames the other. That maids are inefficient is generally admitted, but they are probably not more so than employees in other industries. May it not be possible that mistresses also are inefficient? The demand for domestic workers is greater than the supply, and when this is the case, the standard is always lowered owing to the fact that any labor, however inefficient, is better than none. Labor statistics for New York City show a demand in that neighborhood for one hundred thousand more houseworkers than are at present available.² That there is dissatisfaction on both sides is shown by the fact that of the domestic workers placed by the combined intelligence offices of New York City, the average length of time for them to remain in one situation is two weeks. This not only affects the comfort of the home, but also the character and stability of the maid herself. Both mistress and maid must share the blame for this condition of affairs. To which belongs the greater share it would perhaps not be wise to say.

¹ Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States, Vol. 9. Bureau of Commerce and Labor, Washington.

² Pattison, Mary, *Principles of Domestic Engineering*.

Making household service attractive. Admitting that an adequate supply of houseworkers is necessary, and that housework is a desirable and may be made an attractive occupation for young girls and women, let us consider some of the steps that should be taken to increase the supply and competency of maids, make mistresses efficient, and the employment attractive.

Fair and just agreements. Fair and just conditions should be offered for faithful and efficient service. Of course, the question then arises, what are fair conditions, and what is efficient service. A standard must be fixed. The interests of mistress and maid are identical. A mutual agreement should be arrived at, and the conditions once fixed should be adhered to, even though it causes inconvenience to either party. Employer and employee in other industries enter into definite agreements before the work is entered upon, and as a rule rigidly adhere to them, but in the household, even if an agreement is tentatively made, it is liable to be changed without a moment's notice by either side. In this connection, there should be considered the quarters provided for the lodgment of the household help. Too often the girl is confined to two rooms, the kitchen and her bedroom, and the latter is usually, to say the least, not an attractive room. It does not need any stretch of the imagination to see that under these circumstances the home life of the girl is really non-existent.

Standards of work and wages. A standard of work and wages should be established. In this field inefficiency seems to be able to command as high a wage as efficiency, and so long as this is the case the maid will be quite indifferent to the varying opportunities now offered in household arts schools for self-improvement. The individualistic method

of reaching an agreement does not obtain largely in other forms of industry. We want on the one hand a league of housekeepers, and on the other a union of maids, and agreements could be entered into by these two bodies which should be binding on the individual members of each. Homemakers' conferences could perhaps perform no better service than in discussing these questions, and in formulating standards. It may be contended that no two houses are run exactly alike, but neither are any two factories or shops, yet conditions there are standardized, and are a matter of mutual agreement. In the many housekeepers' conferences and women's institutes held throughout the country, discussions of great importance are held, but as a rule they are too general and do not attack or solve specific problems.

Time for rest, recreation, and culture. The maid should be allowed to receive and entertain her friends within due limits. It must be remembered that the house in which the girl is employed is frequently her only home, and if she is not allowed to receive her friends there, the tendency will be to resort to undesirable places. Many mistresses still cling to the "afternoon out" and resent visitors to the maid. The old English dictum of "No followers allowed" has not yet entirely disappeared. Change and recreation are absolutely necessary in order to preserve a normal mental balance. The worker in the factory or the shop gets a constant amount of variation in her intercourse with her fellows that is denied to the maid working alone in a kitchen. Welfare work in factories and stores has been proved beyond doubt to result in greater output, and actually to pay in dollars and cents, and it may be reasonably assumed that it would pay also in the field of domestic service. At present there are not many houses in which the maid can entertain

her friends outside the kitchen, but when the need of such provision is recognized by public sentiment, such provision will probably be made.

Associations for housewives are not common, but there is urgent need for them. An association somewhat of this type is the "Metropolitan Association for befriending young servants" in London, England. This association was formed to assist girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty. The girls are visited in their situations by ladies of the committee; provided with safe lodgings while out of a place; trained and taught their duties; cared for in sickness and provided with clothing when necessary. The association has eight training houses in which girls are taught their duties as domestic servants and eleven lodging houses in or near London to which girls can go in the critical periods when they are not in a situation, or where they can obtain help and advice from the matron at any time. That the girls appreciate this help is shown by the fact that in one branch alone over six hundred visits were paid in one year by girls on their "afternoon out." Bible classes are held in the homes on Sunday afternoons, and the girls are made welcome at any time. The association has many branches and other organizations affiliated to it. It would seem that an organization of this kind, with perhaps some of the charitable features removed, might do valuable work among those who are now employed as domestic servants.

Definite hours fixed. The majority of conflicts in the industrial world between capital and labor have turned mainly on two points — wages and hours. In industry the battle for the eight-hour day has been largely won, but the battle has yet to be fought in regard to domestic employment. It must be admitted that the problem is a difficult and com-

plicated one, and it is also one for which the mistress is not entirely responsible. The long hours depend to a considerable extent on the habits of the man of the house, and his habits partly depend on the nature of his employment. As a rule, he works at least eight hours a day. This means that the maid must be at work an hour before he leaves, and at least an hour after he returns, making ten hours, exclusive of any entertaining that is done at night. How, then, it is asked, can the eight-hour day be introduced into the kitchen. Of course, this ten hours is not continuous. In every well-regulated household, it should be possible for the maid to have at least two hours in the afternoon for rest, recreation, or culture, and this two hours should not be infringed upon except by mutual consent. Why should not the maid be paid for overtime as is the practice in most other industries. If this were done, the mistress would not hesitate to ask for extra service, nor would the maid under ordinary circumstances refuse to perform it. In estimating the wages paid to domestic workers it must not be forgotten that to the actual money paid there must be added board and lodging, and this usually brings the total wage to a higher sum than is paid in other forms of industry. Specialization is the characteristic of modern industry, but as yet specialization has not touched the home. As the household develops, it is probable that more of the home duties will be turned over to specialists who will perform the work outside the home, or come to it at stated intervals. The "maid-of-all-work is an anachronism in the field of modern industry."

Lessening of drudgery. Every reasonable effort should be made to lessen the drudgery of housework. Of course it is not orthodox at the present stage of the household arts

movement to talk about "drudgery" in connection with the home, but it cannot be denied that ordinary housework, as it is generally performed, consists largely of drudgery. But admitting this is far from saying that it must of necessity be so. Housewives and teachers are probably the most conservative elements in the human race, and the introduction of labor-saving devices into the home has been very slow. There are signs, however, that considerable interest is now being taken in such labor-saving devices as electric irons, vacuum cleaners, fireless cookers, electric motors for grinding coffee, cleaning silver, polishing knives, beating eggs, making ice cream, running dishwashers, and turning washing machines and wringers.

Consider the energy that is spent in washing alone. If washing had to be done by men, the demand for washing machines would be enormously increased. No man would spend about one seventh of his time in scrubbing away at a washboard. He would get the best machine, and then begin to hunt about for power to run it. After about a year's use he would proudly explain that it had not cost him a cent, because it had paid for itself in the time it had saved, but, unfortunately, women have not yet learned to consider their time as worth anything. Most women are afraid of machinery. Suggest an electric washer, and they are afraid of shock, or that they might get it started and could not stop it, or that it would wear out the clothes. It is no use to tell them that the current of 110 volts, which experience has shown is the best for domestic use, could not possibly be dangerous, and would scarcely be uncomfortable. The machine will generally have to be installed by the man, and he will have to teach his wife how to run it, generally without much encouragement from her. But if every man would

spend some time in teaching his wife to adopt labor-saving methods in her housework, as he has already adopted them in his industrial life, housework would not be about one hundred years behind the other industries. In many cases, of course, the wives would not be willing to admit that they could be taught anything about housekeeping by a man.

The work done by women in the house has never been accurately calculated in terms of horse power, but as an indication take the following form a magazine issued by an electric lighting and power company :

“ There are now fifteen thousand electric irons in use in a large eastern city. Few women, and no men, realize what this means in actual labor saving. Where one electric flat-iron is now used, the house-wife formerly required at least three six-pound ‘ sad ’ irons, and while one was in use, two had to stand on the stove to heat. Fifteen thousand electric irons have, therefore, replaced forty-five thousand sad irons. At six pounds apiece this means two hundred and seventy thousand pounds or 135 tons. Now the constant use of this enormous amount of old irons meant a tremendous outlay of energy, or exertion of strength, that was required every ironing day equivalent to 2400 horse power, and this was simply termed ‘ woman’s work.’ It should be termed the ‘ waste of woman power.’ ”

Reference has already been made to the amount of time spent in dishwashing in the ordinary household arts class. The time spent in the average home in this operation is considerable in amount, and the work is, moreover, generally regarded as unpleasant. This work could also be done by machinery. The electric dishwashing machine “ is a simply constructed, very good-looking piece of furniture permanently installed only to the extent of being connected with the

supply of gas, water, and electric power. With the very minimum of boiling water — not more than two gallons — it sterilizes and washes about seventy pieces of china and glass, and fifty or more pieces of silver at one time. All this in less than ten minutes from the placing of them in the box and without as much as touching a finger to the dishwater during the whole most dainty and delicate operation. It is all so simple and yet so ingenious that one marvels why it has never been done before, and as the new consciousness of scientifically washing dishes is developed from day to day, the wonder grows that women have for so long been slaves to the old methods of dishpans, cloths, mops, towels, and all the other unsanitary and unhygienic means."

The average woman, however, fights shy of such appliances. In discussing this particular question with an excellent manager and housekeeper of my acquaintance, the discussion was closed with the remark "if a woman in an ordinary house cannot wash her own dishes, there is something wrong with the woman," and this remark is typical of the opinions of perhaps ninety-five per cent of the housewives of the country.

Part of the general labor problem. The domestic service question should be considered as part of the general labor problem. It has an economic and historical aspect, as well as a personal one, but up to the present only the latter has been considered. Owing to the facts that the occupation does not involve the employment of a large amount of capital on either side, that the products of domestic service are more transient than other labor products, and that combinations and unions are practically unknown, the subject has scarcely been looked upon as worthy the attention of legislators and

economists, and domestic service remains isolated politically as well as socially. The first attempt to treat the subject from the economic point of view was made by Miss Lucy M. Salmon, and her whole conclusion seems to be that the question will be solved only by the full recognition of the professional aspects of the problems. She concludes that the popularly described remedial measures are "doubtful," owing to the fact that they do not touch the economic and industrial difficulties or "that they run at right angles to general economic educational and industrial progress." The basis of her thorough and scientific study of the question is found in the following quotation: "The difficulties that meet the employer of domestic labor, both in America and Europe, are the difficulties that arise from the attempt to harmonize an ancient patriarchal industrial system with the conditions of modern life. Everywhere the employer closes his eyes to the incongruities of the attempt, and lays the blame of failure, not to a defective system, but to the natural weaknesses in the character of the unfortunate persons obliged to carry it out. The difficulties in the path of both employer and employee will not only never be removed, but will increase, until the subject of domestic service is regarded as a part of the great labor question of the day and given the same serious consideration."¹

There are now signs that this question is to receive some attention from the social, educational, and economic standpoint. Various bureaus of labor and economic associations are investigating the subject from these angles, and though the investigations are materially hampered by the

¹ "School Training for the Home Duties of Women." Special Reports, Vol. 15. Board of Education, London, England.

fact that there are no unions through which information may be obtained, and the very personal relations between mistress and maid, which often lead both parties to resent requests for information as undue interference with their private affairs, yet good results may be expected even though deductions have to be made from relatively small numbers. In conducting investigations the families chosen should be as far as possible typical of the district in which the investigation is being conducted.

Probably the most comprehensive report ever made on the subject of women in industry was the Report on Condition of Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States, made by the authority of the Senate. This is in nineteen volumes and deals with practically every industry in which women are employed except that of domestic service. The Act of Congress, approved January 29, 1907, under which this investigation was made, provided "that the Secretary of Commerce and Labor be, and he is hereby authorized and directed to investigate and report on the industrial, social, moral, educational, and physical condition of woman and child workers in the United States wherever employed with special reference to their age, hours of labor, term of employment, health, illiteracy, sanitary and other conditions surrounding their occupation and the means employed for the protection of their health, person, and morals."

It would seem to the layman that the broad terms in which this act was drawn would have quite logically warranted the inclusion of domestic servants under the term "wherever employed," but for some reason or other they were not so included. What is needed now, is an investigation under government authority as broad and comprehensive as that contained in the nineteen volumes above referred to.

Abolition of private employment agencies. The ordinary intelligence or registry office is probably responsible for a great deal of the degradation of household service. The "Apprentice and Skilled Employment Association" of London, England, strongly advises girls when looking for a situation to avoid answering advertisements in newspapers, and taking situations unknown to them or their friends. They are also warned against applying to any registry office or employment agency, much less entering any home connected with the registry or agency without at first making sure that such office or home bears a good character. There is an association called the "National Vigilance Association" which will give such information and verify situations.

The chief business of these offices is the collection of fees, and the more frequently maids change their positions, the more fees are collected. Under these circumstances, the office does not concern itself with the fitness of either mistress or maid. While it is universally admitted that many maids are inefficient, it is not so generally admitted that many mistresses are unfit to employ a maid, or that they require a peculiar type of girl. On the other hand a girl who has been a failure in one place may not necessarily be so in another, where her work is performed under different conditions. These offices have neither the ability nor desire to consider the temperamental character of mistress or maid, and so are not able to make any attempt to harmonize relationships, and thus it is only by the merest chance that both parties are suited. Such offices should be replaced by government bureaus, labor exchanges, or reputable institutions. Under such organizations the skilled maid would find herself much better off, if supplied through such a

bureau, as she would probably have a court of appeal in case of dispute.

If this occupation were raised to the status of a business, a demand for skilled labor would be created. Not only would the maid be better off, but the particular requirements of each client could be considered. Contracts could be made with the head of the bureau, and he or she might act as a permanent board of arbitration between mistress and maid. The maid would be safeguarded against injustice and the mistress against imposition. These bureaus could supply maids for specific duties for specified hours at a cost less than that now paid. When wages, rental, heat, light, food, breakage, and waste are taken into account it is estimated that the average cost per hour for the general housework girl is from twenty to thirty cents. Such bureaus, if established, might well direct their attention to the encouragement of specialization.

As an example of work of this kind the activities of the Housewives' League of Montclair, New Jersey, may be cited. This league has a standing committee on domestic service. This committee publishes in the local newspapers and through the women's clubs the state laws concerning the subject; namely, that no intelligence office may be used as a dormitory or restaurant; that every such office must keep an available list for reference of its applicants for positions; and that the fee for prospective employer or employee must not exceed ten per cent of the first month's wages. The committee has also secured the active coöperation of the town officials in the enforcement of these laws. The committee maintains for the benefit of the league a private list of day-workers, laundresses, cooks, waitresses, mother's helpers, and artisans who are available in cases of emergency

and whose honesty and efficiency are vouched for by two or more members of the organization.¹

The state free employment agencies now being established in many states are dealing with this question to some extent. In the year 1915 the agencies in the state of Massachusetts found employment under "domestic and personal service for 6270 males and 9925 females."²

Work done outside the home. In this connection may be considered cookery and laundry work. It is a great waste of time and money to carry on so many family washes. Take an ordinary community. Every Monday morning one hundred families or more are doing the washing with one hundred separate fires. This work could be much better done in a public laundry. The objections urged several years ago against public laundries now no longer have weight. Regulation of hours of labor, physical condition of workers, and the sanitary conditions under which the work is carried on are now under the restriction of the law. All places, except the home kitchen, where food is prepared for sale, are now under the same restrictions; and when these laws are properly enforced a pure food supply is assured. This matter is largely in the hands of women, and their attention might well be directed to strengthening and enforcing the laws in regard to laundries, bakeries, and food supply houses generally; and when these can be depended upon the woman will be justified in having much of her cookery and laundry done outside the home in places fully and properly equipped for the purpose.

Mistresses with adequate knowledge. The mistress herself should have the knowledge necessary to supervise intelli-

¹ *Journal of Home Economics*, October, 1915.

² Mass. State Free Employment Offices, 9th Annual Report, 1915.

gently and sympathetically direct the work of the maid. While many of the defects complained of are due to the inefficiency of the maid many are also due to the ignorance of the mistress. The mere financial ability to employ a maid does not of necessity imply that the mistress has the ability to plan and supervise her work intelligently, or even to judge it fairly when planned by the maid herself. Just as in our systems of education it is often as important to educate the parent as to educate the child, so in this domestic service problem it is often as important to educate the mistress as to educate the maid. Classes for housewives have been formed in various parts of the community. In response to a circular sent out by the superintendent of schools in Montclair, New Jersey, 225 women appeared at the domestic science kitchen of the high school and of these eight classes were formed. At the opening of the second term four classes were formed, and these four classes were composed of women who were determined to get all the teacher had to give. The day school for the training of the mature housekeeper has not yet been fully made use of. In most communities it is found that there are many women anxious to obtain instruction in certain branches of housekeeping, and for this purpose the unit course system previously referred to is particularly suitable. Training given to the housewife has rendered her better able to supervise the work of the maid in an intelligent and sympathetic manner.

Better trained maids. Lack of training is a condition common to all industrial workers. In domestic service even the learner has an opportunity to earn more than living expenses. It is the one form of industry in which the capable can always find a position, and it offers good preparation

for a girl to make afterwards a home of her own. Practical experience in housework in the girl's own home is often the best kind of training for success in domestic service, and training while in service is best secured under a good upper servant or under a good mistress where only one servant is kept.

The part-time system for industrial workers might well be introduced here. Several examples of this are to be found in different parts of the country. Girls are allowed by their mistresses in many instances to attend evening classes, though this is not nearly as common as it ought to be. In a study made of the working girls in the evening schools of the city of New York the following passage occurs: "The largest group of wage-earning girls in New York is in domestic and personal service, but among evening school pupils, representatives of this group are few in number. Principals of evening schools cite cases of girls employed in household work who have not been able to continue in classes, even when they made a beginning. The nature of their tasks keeps them on duty longer hours than are required of workers in any factories, stores, or offices in New York. In view of this fact, not the absence of domestic workers, but the number of them in night schools is surprising. But the group of evening pupils employed in 'domestic and personal service' consists not only of maids, cooks, waitresses and laundresses in private families, but also of office cleaners, janitresses, hairdressers, trained nurses and companions, as well as employees in hotels, restaurants, diet kitchens, and institutions." ¹

A notable example of classes formed for the specific purpose of giving definite instruction to maids in service is to be found

¹ Van Kleeck, *Working Girls in Evening Schools*.

in Montclair, New Jersey. The success of the class for housewives, previously referred to, led to the idea that classes for maids might be equally successful. These classes were started in January, 1915. The head of the domestic science department of the high school, in conference with a committee of the Housewives' League, drafted a course of twelve lessons, including instruction in the care of household equipment, the use of the fireless cooker, the preparation and serving of soups, cereals, sauces, meats, vegetables, and eggs. The total cost of the lessons was two dollars a member. In addition, talks were given on simple personal hygiene, avoidance of waste, and moral responsibility to the employer. Between sixty and seventy were enrolled, and the classes proved an unqualified success. More advanced work is now being given and the classes are being continued.¹

The new high school in this city is fortunate in having for its equipment a set of unit kitchens, and the work can be carried on much as it would be in the home kitchen. Diplomas are given for each completed course of study. These classes for maids have had the peculiar result of increasing the attendance at the housewives' classes. The classes were advertised by letters sent to organizations representing over a thousand women, and by circulars distributed in the schools where the classes were held. In nearly every case the mistresses are paying the tuition of their maids, and without exception they are giving two and a half hours per week from the regular schedule of work, not from the "day out." These classes are said by their organizers to have exposed as fallacies "certain false concepts that in the heat of the domestic conflict have been too often regarded as axioms such as the following:

¹ *Journal of Home Economics*, October, 1915.

"a. Mistresses are tyrannical and maids irresponsible.

"b. Mistresses disregard ethics in dealing with each other, therefore the maid follows their example.

"c. The domestic service problem cannot be solved in terms in which the other labor problems are solved.

"d. A competent mistress has nothing to learn and a competent maid cannot be improved.

"e. Housework is drudgery and cannot become anything else."

Coöperative housekeeping. One of the striking features of industrial life outside the home, is the extent to which the principle of coöperation is coming into play. The three great household arts are represented by the broom, the washboard, and the stove, and anything that can lighten or eliminate the use of these will help to solve the domestic servant problem. One would think that the cooking and laundry could be done outside the home. The commercial laundry is of course an accomplished fact, and the housewives in the poorer districts are coming to rely more and more upon the cook and delicatessen shop. But this is not coöperation. Attempts have been made by community kitchens to deal with the problem of home cooking, but very few of these attempts have been successful either financially or socially. Various plans have been tried. At such a kitchen in England the food was sent from the homes and cooked and returned. In some cases all cooked meals are served in a common dining-room, but in others the meals are delivered. In some English towns it is the regular practice to have the Sunday dinner cooked in the bakeshop. The ideal plans for such kitchens have not yet been evolved, but the need for them in certain communities seems to be generally admitted.

The following account of a coöperative kitchen "that is meeting a need in its community" is adapted from the *Journal of Home Economics*. This kitchen has been in operation for some months in a suburban town and has now paid all expenses. Two new features have been introduced — the selection of a "food carrier" and catering to individual requirements. The plans took two years to develop. A careful study was made of similar enterprises, and the coöperation of families troubled with the servant problem secured. A society was organized and the directors decided that at least one thousand dollars should be raised by stock subscriptions before they would make a beginning; but when nine hundred dollars had been subscribed, ninety persons having taken one share each, the kitchen was inaugurated owing to pressure by the stockholders.

Half a double house was rented in a central locality, and two rooms on the first floor were converted into a dining-room. This was fitted with small tables and attractively arranged. The silver and china provided were of fine quality and dainty paper doilies were obtained to take the place of linen. The kitchen on the first floor was simply equipped, and storeroom and laundry facilities were arranged for in the basement. The plant cost five hundred dollars. From the first the kitchen had as many customers as could be handled properly, and the number has steadily grown. The work done up to the present consists in serving meals in the association's dining-room, sending out meals by hired automobiles, sending maids to serve in the homes, and catering for entertainments and social functions. The prices charged for meals are as follows: to subscribers, breakfast twenty-five cents, lunch thirty-five cents, dinner fifty cents; to non-subscribers, breakfast thirty-five cents, lunch forty-

five cents, dinner sixty-five cents. In addition ten cents is charged for each delivery.

The difficult problem of the delivery of hot meals has been overcome by the adoption of a Swedish container consisting of a tier of enameled or aluminum dishes, which fit snugly into an ice-cream container. In this way the food keeps hot for several hours. With two automobiles going in different directions it takes about one and a half hours to deliver the dinners. Soups, meats, vegetables, salads, and desserts are sent out in this way, and the cold dishes are placed in a separate container. Large dinners are sometimes prepared for organizations, and in these cases part of the food is cooked at the kitchen, and part where the dinner is served. The staff consists of five workers in the kitchen, a manager, an assistant manager, a cook, butler, and waitress; and this is considered a small number in view of the character and amount of the work done.

The kitchen is now operated without loss, and the authorities feel that if working capital were available it would make a profit, since at present all the food has to be bought at retail. Thirty dollars a month could be saved by the wholesale buying of all foodstuffs. Another saving in the running expenses would be the purchase of an automobile. The company is now incorporated. A cash dividend of six per cent is to be paid to shareholders when possible, and any surplus will be used to reduce the cost of operation and cost of meals to stockholders. The demand for meals to be sent to the homes is increasing, although only a few families have three meals per day sent regularly. Meals are generally ordered when one servant is temporarily lacking in a household, or on the maid's day out. Sundays and Thursdays are the heaviest days, and as many as fifty-eight din-

ners have been served on Sundays with eleven orders refused. The need for such services as are performed by this kitchen has been clearly demonstrated, and it may be assumed that there are many other communities where the same conditions prevail.

May we not look forward to the time when housework will become so standardized and systematized that the work in the average home may be done by its inmates without any outside assistance, and hope that on those occasions when help is required that it may be obtained through some reliable bureau or government agency. Our efforts may well be directed towards making the domestic service problem eliminate itself.

As Professor Carleton says: "Industrial history unmistakably points to the conclusion that woman's household industry is doomed. Little will permanently remain, and what does remain will, in a large measure, be most efficiently performed by specialized workers going from one household to another. Household work when thus performed will attain a professional dignity which has hitherto been entirely lacking."¹

¹ Carleton, Frank Tracy, *Education and the Industrial Evolution*.

CHAPTER VIII

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

- I. Women's early industries.
- II. Women's present industries.
- III. Effect of war upon employment of women.
- IV. First appearance of women in outside industries.
- V. Early vocational education for women.
- VI. Divided opinions on the employment of women.
- VII. Trades schools for girls.
- VIII. Vocational training for the 14-16-year-old girl.
- IX. Reasons for leaving school.
- X. Part-time education.
- XI. Training for some industries impossible.
- XII. The educational content of industry.
- XIII. Organization of a factory school.

THE "woman in industry" is by no means a new problem, yet it is not infrequently treated as a peculiar feature of modern times. Women have always been in industry, and a study of their work from early times shows a change in kind rather than in amount or intensity. In Biblical times virtue and industry were inseparably connected. The Hebrew ideal of the virtuous woman is embodied as follows: "She seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly with her hands." "She considereth a field, and buyeth it; with the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard." "She layeth her hands to the spindle, and her hands hold the distaff." "She maketh fine linen, and selleth it; and delivereth girdles unto the merchant."

Women's early industries. Woman has always been a producer. In the early days she spun the flax and wove

the linen; she cured the meats for the sustenance of the family, and she ground the corn; she made the candles and the soap, and all the numerous materials required for the running of the home. In fact every home was self-contained and included in embryo all the elements of the modern industrial system. It is of course not possible to estimate in terms of dollars and cents the value of this household industry, but the clothing and feeding of the family depended almost entirely upon it. In addition to this non-wage-earning industry, it must be remembered that many women even in early colonial days were wage-earners even according to the present census definition. Spinning, sewing, weaving, domestic service, were often engaged in as direct wage-earning pursuits. In addition to this many women entered into businesses of their own in the sewing and textile trade, and also in such industries as the making of blackberry brandy. The place of the woman in industry was in these days unquestioned, and many of the largest and most prosperous industries of the present day have grown out of her efforts. The following extract from the diary of an eighteenth century housewife is fairly typical of what her duties were before the manufacturer took the province of producer out of her hands. "Fixed gown for Prude; mended mother's riding hood; spun short thread; carded tow; worked on cheese basket; hatched flax with Hannah, we did fifty-one pounds a-piece; pleated and ironed; read a sermon of Doddridge's; spooled a piece; milked the cows; spun linen, did fifty knots; set a red dye; had two scholars from Mrs. Taylor's. I carded two pounds of whole wool and felt nationly; spun harness twine; scoured the pewter."¹

¹ Bruere, *Increasing Home Efficiency*.

Women's present industries. The different branches of industry in which women are now engaged are as follows :

(1) Textile industries ; (2) clothing and sewing trades ; (3) domestic service ; (4) manufacture of food and kindred products, including beverages ; (5) other manufacturing industries including tobacco and cigars, the paper and printing industries, the manufacture of metals of all kinds and of wood, clay, glass, and chemicals ; (6) trade and transportation.

The first four of these groups are well within the traditional sphere of women's work. They do not in their present development represent the entry of women into new occupations, but indicate only a change in the conditions under which they have labored. In the fifth group, however, the history of women's employment is of an entirely different character, for here they have entered upon occupations which were long considered the traditional domain of man. As women have encroached upon men's industries, so men have invaded fields formerly exclusively filled by women. One kind of spinning is now done by men only. Every year more women's suits are made by tailors. Men dress-makers and men milliners are common. Men make our bread, wash our clothes, cook our food, and even clean our houses with the vacuum cleaner.

The work of women has changed from a household matter to one of mills, factories, and shops. Women have naturally followed their spinning wheels and looms, their soup kettles and their preserving jars, their poultices and herb teas, all the paraphernalia of the industries in which they have been busied from the beginning of time, out of the home into the factory. There are now at least three hundred occupations in which women are engaged. According to the

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census of 1910 there were 8,075,772 females of ten years of age and over "gainfully employed," representing 23.4 per cent of all the females of that age as compared with 18.5 per cent in 1900, 17.4 per cent in 1890, and 14.7 per cent in 1880. It is thought that the increase between 1900 and 1910 is probably largely due to different "instructions to enumerators." The following table shows the distribution of the women employed in the various industrial divisions.

	NUMBER	PER CENT DISTRIBUTE
Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry.....	1,807,501	22.4
Extraction of minerals.....	1,094	Less than $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1
Manufacturing and mechanical industries.....	1,820,980	22.5
Transportation.....	106,596	1.3
Trade.....	468,088	5.8
Public service (not otherwise classified).....	13,558	0.2
Professional service.....	733,885	9.1
Domestic and personal.....	2,530,846	31.3
Clerical occupations.....	593,224	7.3

The following may be given to show that the employment of women covers almost the whole field of industry, and that it is by no means restricted to those industries which have been regarded as their peculiar province. Amongst the women employed in industry there were, according to the last census, seventy-seven lumbermen, raftsmen, and woodchoppers; forty-five quarry operatives; thirty-one blacksmiths, forgemen, and hammermen; fifteen brick and stone masons; thirty-eight carpenters; ninety-two electricians and electrical engineers; ninety-three machinists, millwrights, and tool makers; 117 molders, founders, and casters

(metal) ; 782 shoemakers and cobblers ; twenty-four tinsmiths and coppersmiths ; seventy-three draymen, teamsters, and expressmen ; six hostlers and stable hands ; 3453 laborers (railroad, steam, and street) ; forty-four longshoremen and stevedores ; fifty-two switchmen, flagmen, and yardmen ; 2643 bankers, brokers, and money lenders ; five civil and mining engineers ; 250 bar tenders ; 1491 saloon keepers, in addition to 478,027 teachers, 1,309,549 servants, and 263,315 stenographers and typists.

Effect of war upon employment of women. In Britain and continental Europe the present is a time of stress and strain. What it will mean in the future history of the industrial employment of women time alone will show. In a hundred ways women, inspired by motives of patriotism, are performing services they never have performed before. The girl grocer may mean another gunner. The woman who drives a motor van frees a craftsman for the making of munitions. To the women of continental Europe service of this kind comes naturally, and when the men go to fight, the women "carry on" at home. Thousands of them can be seen any day in the fields. They are plowing and sowing, or herding sheep and cattle. Women are running the industrial and commercial life of continental nations, owing to peculiar independence of training and certain political, social, and economic conditions, and these conditions are reacting on all parts of the British Empire with results which none can foresee. On the way from Boulogne to Paris, women are seen guiding the plow. Down south the flower farms and perfume stills are managed by women. The business life of Paris is mainly in female hands. In countinghouses and shops, on trams and railways the French women replaced their men with quiet assur-

ance, while husbands, brothers, and sons went to fight, many of them never to return. It is the same in Flanders, where sturdy maids harness themselves to heavy barges and plod along the towpath, thanking God they have released not a man, but a horse to help in the war. German women, too, are mobilized for this great clash of the civilizations. Women are cleaning the streets, raking the gutters, and loading the refuse into wagons. On the Bavarian railroads there are female pointsmen and wardens of the level crossings, who accost cars, examine papers, and act as special constables besides. In Russia and Italy the women plow, and sow, and reap, as a matter of course. Nor is Switzerland any playground for its maids and matrons. The majority of them are independent and could run the Waldorf Astoria if the necessity arose. These ladies inherit business brains, and from early years drink in from the mountain air matters of profit and loss and general affairs of management. Prussia has woman navvies on her state railways — stalwart gangs leveling the tracks and shoveling earth with a vigor that shocks what we are pleased to call our finer sensibilities.

The scarcity of men labor is also affecting the higher professions. In a recent number of the leading English medical journal forty-two announcements appeared of important posts for which medical women would be accepted, but there was not one available. But this great war has given woman's life a new turn. She has seen five great hospitals at the war front entirely supplied and maintained by her own sex. She has seen skilled women driving motors in the London streets and almost on the battle line at a wage and allowance far above the ordinary. Gone forever then is the helpless woman in a world of endless oppor-

tunity for energy and industry. Other girls — young dress-makers and actresses out of work through the war — learn toy making with chisel and saw. When proficient, they will teach the trade in the small towns and villages, thus setting up a home industry like that which once brought Austria and Germany millions of dollars a year.

Nothing shows better the changes that have come about in English ideas and practice than the fact that even at the Athenæum club, that resort of learned statesmen and holy bishops, girls are employed to serve tea and coffee on the drawing-room floor. London alone has sent more than a thousand male teachers to the trenches, and women are doing their work, even in the secondary schools, where they have now appeared for the first time. In fact no matter where one looks in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe one finds work being done by women that has never before been done by them, and in the majority of cases being well done. Of course, there are many cases of inefficiency, but this is due to lack of training and not to any inherent inability in the sex to do the work.

After the war is over a large number of these women will return to the homes from which they came, but a large number also, it may be expected, will not, owing to the non-return of the men whose places they are filling. But whether these women retain their places or not is of little importance in this connection. The fact of supreme importance is that women will have demonstrated that they can fill efficiently many positions in which they have not previously been found, that they can do work which was formerly considered out of their province and beyond their power, and that in addition they can do all this without the loss of that grace, dignity, and womanhood which highly civilized

people associate with the sex. The industrial face of Europe will be changed in regard to sex in industry, and the change cannot fail to materially influence the industrial life of the American continent. Women are in industry to stay, and the situation must be accepted. It remains for us to consider how they may be best fitted to perform the duties that will inevitably fall to their lot.

First appearance of women in outside industries. One of the best accounts of the history of women in industry is contained in Volume 9 of the report on *The Conditions of Women and Child Wage-earners in the United States*, and from that account the following particulars are adapted.

The first appearance of women in industry, apart from their employment in domestic service, was in the manufacture of textiles. Even in the home this was their recognized occupation from time immemorial, and it seems quite natural that it should also be the first employment in which any large number of women worked for wages outside the immediate family circle. Even as barbarians the women manufactured our clothing, and this is one of the customs we have carried over. In 1791 Alexander Hamilton, in his report to Congress on manufactures, spoke of the "vast scene of household manufacture" and stated that in a number of districts it was estimated that two thirds, three fourths, and even four fifths of all the clothing of the inhabitants are made by themselves. As late as 1810 Gallatin estimated that "about two-thirds of the clothing, including hosiery and of the house and table linen worn and used by the inhabitants of the United States who do not reside in cities, is the product of family manufacture."

Dr. Helen Sumner divides the history of women employed in the cotton industries into three periods: that of hand

labor before the use of improved machinery, lasting from the first settlement of the country until 1787 when the first cotton mill, which was in reality simply a spinning mill, was erected at Beverly, Massachusetts; that of the use of spinning machinery before the use of the power loom, which period began with the introduction of improved spinning machinery run by water power, and ended with the erection of the first complete cotton factory containing both spinning and weaving machinery at Waltham in 1814; that of the complete textile factory, a highly organized institution in which all branches are carried on under the one roof, extending from 1814 to the present time.

Early vocational education for women. Public sentiment was never very actively opposed to the employment of women in textile industries, and such employment was advocated on religious and moral grounds. It was argued that it would employ women and children who would otherwise "eat the bread of idleness," and the establishment of "spinning schools" was one of the favorite methods of relieving poverty in the early colonial days. A petition presented to the Massachusetts Legislature by the company which established the Beverly factories stated that "it will afford employment to a great number of women and children, many of whom will otherwise be useless if not burdensome to society."

This industry is interesting from the fact that it provided one of the earliest attempts to give vocational training to women. In 1718 a number of Irish spinners and weavers arrived in Boston with the "implements of their craft." "Directly the 'spinning craze' as it was aptly called, took possession of the town; and the women young and old, high and low, rich and poor flocked into the spinning schools,

which for want of better quarters were set up on the common in the open air. Here the whirl of their wheels was heard from morning to night."

In 1721 a spinning school was built in Boston for the instruction of poor children. In March, 1770, a memorial was presented to the General Court of Massachusetts by William Molineux, who, for the purpose of relieving the poor of Boston, had caused about four hundred spinning wheels to be made, "and hired a number of rooms for spinning schools as also a number of mistresses to properly teach such children, and so successful has been his endeavor that in the course of the summer, not being able to continue through the winter's cold season, he had learned at least three hundred women and children to spin in the most compleat manner; and has constantly employed to this day all such as would work and paid them their money to a large amount."

Generally speaking, it is perfectly safe to say that before the introduction of the factory system, practically all the spinning and a large part of the weaving, whether for the home or the market, was done by women and girls. Through the period of spinning machinery to the present complex factory system women and girls have found extensive employment; and a writer in the *Banner of the Constitution* said in 1831: "There is in fact no other market for this description of labor; there is no other mode in which so far as national wealth is concerned it can be made productive at all. The improvements in machinery have superseded all household manufactures so entirely that labor devoted to them so far as useful production is concerned is as much thrown away as if it were employed in turning so many grindstones. . . . Take away the employment of females

in the different branches of manufacture, chiefly in cotton and wool and there is also no market, no demand for the great mass of female labor existing in the community. It is an inert, unproductive, untried power — an unknown capability.”

Divided opinion on the employment of women. Notwithstanding the fact that the employment of women in spinning and weaving was advocated on moral and philanthropic grounds, their progress in gainful occupations has been slow and difficult. While the work of man is limited only by his capacity and endurance, that of woman is hampered by tradition as to what she should do, and what she should not do. As early as 1829 opinions were divided much along the same lines as they are to-day. In that year the *Boston Courier* contended that women should have their full share of the world's labor and be adequately remunerated for participating therein. The writer says: “Custom and long habit have closed the doors of very many employments against the industry and perseverance of woman. She has been taught to deem so many occupations as masculine and made only for men, that excluded by a mistaken deference to the world's opinion from innumerable labors most happily adapted to her physical constitution, the competition for the few places left open to her has occasioned a reduction in the estimated value of her labor, until it has fallen below the minimum and is no longer adequate to present comfortable subsistence, much less to the necessary provision against age and infirmity or the everyday contingencies of mortality.”

On the other hand, the national trades union was strongly opposed to the employment of women in industry. One of the leaders of the union hoped that the time might soon

Indeed it has been suggested that a survey of school surveys should be made. It is high time that the industries themselves were investigated with a view to discovering the opportunities they offer for girls, and the conditions in them that need change before we are justified in establishing courses to equip girls for them. Whatever the necessity for the present commercial methods of production, we have no right to stunt the bodies or cramp the minds of the producers.

It should not be forgotten that the success or failure of any system of vocational education depends largely, if not entirely, upon conditions outside the school. A thorough study of local conditions is absolutely essential, particularly in the industries themselves, before industrial schools for girls are organized in any community. Many surveys have been made with special reference to the industrial education of boys and men, but a tendency is now noticeable not only to give adequate attention to the requirements of girls and women in general surveys, but also to conduct special investigations into those industries in which women are most largely employed. Surveys of the latter class have been conducted by the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education as follows:¹

In Troy a careful study of the collar and cuff industry was made, together with a consideration of the department stores, and the new vocational school and its opportunities for coöperating with existing industries and social agencies.

In Grand Rapids an investigation was made of the vocational opportunities of girls and women, with an analysis of the industries under the heads of skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled.

¹ Report of the Commissioner of Education. 1914, Bureau of Education, Washington.

In New York City the dress and waist industry was studied with a view towards the establishment of part-time instruction. This industry employs more than thirty thousand workers, more than 80 per cent of whom are women. The industry was analyzed, the occupations studied, and plans for a part-time factory school, together with plans for financing and managing the same, were presented to the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association and the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, Local Number 25.

Surveys have also been conducted in New Orleans and Cincinnati.

It is vital to know whether children and parents will patronize a school which trains for specific trades, and also what type of training should be given in order to insure employment when the child is once trained. Dr. Susan M. Kingsbury¹ gives an illustration of the danger which may arise through attempts to solve these problems without a thorough understanding of the locality. In the city of Cambridge, Massachusetts, which has more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, a large number of girls begin work at fourteen years of age, and one might reasonably suppose that they should be trained for dressmaking, millinery, and machine operating. But a closer study shows that the city of Cambridge is industrially dependent on Boston, that the woman does her buying and the man does his producing there, that all the industrial opportunities of Boston are open to the girl of Cambridge, and that therefore the whole situation of Cambridge must be considered in its relation to Boston. Owing to its suburban and residential character

¹ "Trade Education for Girls." Nat. Soc. for Promotion of Industrial Education, Bulletin No. 13.

there are many laundries which employ a large number of women.

On the other hand, a near neighbor of Cambridge, with almost as close a car connection with Boston as has Cambridge, seems to support people who are ready and able to patronize shops nearer home, which causes a demand for dressmakers' and milliners' shops the success of which is distinctly different from that in Cambridge. The city of Worcester has a purely local problem. It is an independent entity from an educational, economic, and industrial point of view. Cambridge and Somerville cannot become independent, and only by the closest cooperation with the city of Boston can the people of these two cities meet the requirements of their girls.¹

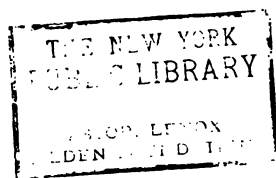
Vocational training for the fourteen to sixteen year old girl. This is the most pressing and most difficult problem of vocational education. Fewer opportunities are offered to the girl under sixteen years of age, either educationally or industrially, than to any other group of children, and this training is urgently needed, since the large majority of children leaving school at this age become industrial workers. The problem here is to reconcile the practical demands of highly specialized and subdivided industry with the educational needs of the child. On the one hand, we have the fact that the industry demands one-process workers, and on the other, the equally obvious fact that if this demand is met, the worker will be stunted and prevented from becoming increasingly efficient. It may be said that the first step in training children of this age for industry is to keep them out of it, and in an ideal

¹ "A Trade School for Girls." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1913, No. 17.



Courtesy Albany Vocational School.

CLASS IN MILLINERY.



state of society this would be done, but at present it is not possible.

The committee undertaking the vocational survey of New York believes that it has a solution of the difficulty above mentioned and expresses that solution in the phrase "ability to adapt," that is, the ability to adapt from one specialized process to another. The report says, "But ability to adapt must be based on broad training and understanding of the principles underlying the various specialized forms of work. The industrial worker needs such background knowledge as much as the professional man, if he is to keep his footing in changing industrial conditions, and industry needs such background knowledge from its workers if it is not to be flooded with inefficient workers who are the product of its own premature and excessive specialization.

"We believe therefore that if the schools are to train workers who are to be continually efficient, it is important to lay the foundation of such training with children under sixteen by teaching them the fundamental principles that are common to many trades, rather than to teach them only one trade or process which may have disappeared five or ten years after such children leave school.

"This plan is practicable because : all specialized machines and processes have come from certain simple forms. Specialization represents variation in principle of these simple forms. This variation is due to the demand for different kinds of products. We believe, therefore, that it is of practical importance for schools to make a first-hand detailed study and analysis of selected processes in selected industries in order to determine what are the fundamental principles common to the various types of industrial work, together with their variation according to different products.

Such analysis should give conclusive data as to the fundamental industrial training that is needed if workers are to become increasingly efficient.”¹

In the small city the problem is not so complex, for there the industries are still carried on more nearly as wholes and have not become merely series of processes. “We must study the industries with a view to discovering those principles and processes that are common and fundamental to the largest number of occupations. These should be arranged and grouped for instructional purposes and so taught as to develop general adaptability.”²

It is one thing to plan schools, and quite another to get the children there, and induce them to stay long enough to obtain something worth while. It is stated that when five hundred girls between fourteen and sixteen years of age in Chicago factories were asked, “If your father had a good job so that he could have afforded to have kept you in school, would you prefer to stay in school or go to work in a factory?” 412 replied that they would still prefer to work in the factory.³

Reasons for leaving school. In these democratic days the child herself decides whether she shall leave school or not, and once she actually leaves and gets out of touch with educational affairs it is very difficult to persuade her to attend school again. We flatter ourselves that we have made the school so interesting and pleasant that all the children like to attend, but, after all, Shakespeare’s picture of the whining schoolboy going unwillingly to school is still

¹ *Industrial Arts Magazine*, November, 1914.

² Report of the Commissioner of Education. 1915, Bureau of Education, Washington.

³ *Education*, December, 1913.

true in many cases. The Minneapolis survey showed that the reasons given for leaving school were as follows: ill health, 5.7 per cent; "had to go to work," 35.5 per cent; child's desire to earn money, 8.2 per cent; opportunity to keep vacation work, 2.6 per cent; dislike for school or lack of interest in it, 29.5 per cent; trouble with teacher, 3.1 per cent; failure to pass, 1.1 per cent; belief that further school work was not worth while, 14.2 per cent.

The Russell Sage Foundation in its investigations in New York City reports that the great loss of pupils from the public schools is due to four chief causes: (1) lack of adjustment between the length of the compulsory school period and the length of the school course; (2) preventable ill health or removable physical defects; (3) irregular school attendance; (4) the courses of study were either too difficult or were not adapted to the average pupil. Even if schools for the fourteen to sixteen year old girl be established as they ought to be, certain steps will have to be taken if the attendance is to justify the expenditure of public money. Some of these measures are the removal from the minds of the children of their traditional dislike of the school, the convincing of the parent that continued education is well worth while from a financial point of view, — for it is from this standpoint that a large majority of the parents still judge an education, — and lastly, raising the school age to at least sixteen with safeguards against undue hardships.

Part-time education. Steps have already been taken in several states to secure at least part-time education, between the fourteenth and sixteenth years, of those who have left school at fourteen years of age or younger. An example of a law designed for this purpose is that of the state of Ohio. The superintendent of schools has delegated

to the Schmidlapp bureau the power to issue work certificates, and every child who leaves school to go to work must pass through the office of this bureau, and the passage is rendered as difficult as possible. The following is the method of procedure :

1. The principal of the school fills out a blank containing particulars of the pupil's scholarship, habits of work, etc.

2. The birth record must be secured from the pastor of the church where the child was christened, or confirmed, or from the bureau of vital statistics of the place where he was born.

3. A health record must be secured from the board of health. This record includes family history, personal history, and the more important physical tests of heart, lungs, vision, hearing, etc.

4. A contract has to be secured with the employer. This is one of the most valuable points in the Ohio system. The employer agrees that he will employ the child not more than eight hours a day, six days in the week, between the hours of 7 A.M. and 6 P.M.; that he will coöperate with the school board in obtaining the attendance of the child at a continuation school as long as the child shall be under sixteen years of age, and in his employment, provided the child has not completed the eighth grade; that he will return the work certificate to the office within two days of the child's dismissal or withdrawal from his employment, giving the reasons therefor.

The Ohio continuation-school law states that "in case the Board of Education of any school district establishes part-time day schools for the instruction of youth over fourteen years of age who are engaged in regular employment, such Board of Education is authorized to require all

youth who have not satisfactorily completed the eighth grade of the elementary school to continue their schooling until they are sixteen years of age; provided, however, that such youth, if they have been granted age and schooling certificates and are regularly employed, shall be required to attend school not to exceed eight hours a week between the hours of 8 A.M. and 5 P.M. during the school term.”¹

Dr. Sadler has pointed out that in planning continuation and trade schools it is important:

1. To plan the school course so as to permit pupils to enter any given trade at the right age.

2. To arrange the last period of work in the elementary school and the first stage of the trade-school course in close coördination.

3. To coördinate the last year's work in the trade school with the system of apprenticeship or learning followed in the trade in order to avoid waste of time in starting work.

4. To watch the state of the markets as to the number of persons employed in various trades and the possible dangers of too early and too definite specialization in schools; this can only be done by keeping in touch with trade requirements and by the help of employers and labor organizations.

5. To appoint the right kind of teachers.

Coördination is the note of the whole solution — coördination between elementary schools, prevocational schools, trade schools, factories, the attitudes of teachers, parents, employers, and trade unionists.²

Training for some industries seems impossible. Contrary to the opinion of many educational authorities, there are some industries for which no educational training out-

¹ Davis, *Vocational and Moral Guidance*.

² Sadler, *Continuation Schools in England and Elsewhere*.

side the workshop seems at present possible or desirable, and there are others where the operations are so simple, monotonous, and mechanical that no training seems necessary. The New York factory investigating commission¹ states that in the solid box industry, in which 73.16 per cent of all the workers are females, that "short unit courses might profitably be offered for prospective foremen of cardboard and paper cutting departments and for employees within these two departments. No vocational training is recommended for employees in any of the other departments." In the manufacture of folding boxes it is concluded that "no vocational training is necessary for any employees save perhaps die makers and pressmen." From the above quotations it will be seen that there is a variation in the amount of training it is desirable or necessary to give, and the conditions in other industries are much the same.

Miss Van Kleeck says that in bookbinding, machines dominate the industry.² Women have nothing to do with the planning or designing; their tasks are mechanical and highly specialized. Speed, good team work, and facility in a mechanical process are all that is required. Employers and workers alike state that they can see no scope for supplementary training with a definite vocational bearing, for women in this industry. At first sight it looks as though this would mean the abandonment of all attempts to give industrial education to women engaged in these and other trades. It does not mean this, however, but it does indicate that much study and careful experiment will be necessary to work out any satisfactory plan. Many investigations have been made into industries regarding sanitary

¹ Report of the New York Factory Commission, 1915, Vol. 4.

² Van Kleeck, *Working Girls in Evening Schools*.

conditions, hours of labor, wages paid, and general conditions of employment; but what is wanted now is investigation into what has been called the "educational content" of the different industries, that is, "those things that are required to be known and that can be taught, either by theory, or by carefully arranged practice lessons, or by a combination of both theory and practice." Such investigations have not yet been made to any considerable extent.

The educational content of industry. Perhaps the most comprehensive piece of work that has been done in this direction is in the dress and waist industry by Cleo Murland in collaboration with C. A. Prosser. This investigation is described in "Conciliation, Arbitration, and Sanitation in the Dress and Waist Industry of New York City," published by the United States Bureau of Labor. The investigation was undertaken owing to "a growing conviction on the part of those actively engaged in the promotion of industrial education in New York City that the body of the workers in the garment trades, are, under present conditions at least, to be reached and trained through the use of part-time schools." This industry employs nearly thirty thousand workers, of whom fifty-four per cent are women. The general plan of the investigation was as follows:

1. To study the industry as to the kind of work the women are engaged in, what opportunities there are within the trade for self-development and earning power, and the possibility of learning the trade while employed in the industry.
2. To evolve a scheme of training that would satisfy the worker's demand for self-development and trade craftsmanship, and the industry's demand for trained workers.
3. To present a plan for the establishment of a part-time

school that will command the support of the workers, the manufacturers engaged in the industry, and the public.

The occupations within the industry and the opportunities offered by them were studied by means of visits to a number of factories, interviews with foremen, workers, and employers, and by personal observations of the girls and women at their work.

Like many other industries of the present day, the dress and waist industry is made up of a number of allied trades, depending on each other because of their contribution to a common product, and a number of auxiliary occupations which play an important part in production, but which are not strictly speaking an integral part of any one of the trades. The industry is divided into three main branches, — the *non-operating*, including cleaning, finishing, examining, pressing, assorting, joining, draping, designing, and cutting in an ascending scale of importance; the *garment-operating occupations* (in some grades of the trade many in number, in others few), body making, center making, closing and hemming, or binding and felling, sleeve making, sleeve cutting, collar making, collar setting, trimming, lace running, and skirt making; *special machine operations*, which include tucking, hemstitching, buttonhole making, and button sewing. Other special machine work occasionally appears in the industry, but not frequently enough to justify workers specializing on it as they do in the four mentioned.

The report gives a minute analysis of every one of the occupations and points out the qualities demanded in the workers, and the knowledge they should have. The methods by which a young girl enters the industry and the line of promotion are then detailed, together with wages

paid, length of working year, and demand for workers. All of these factors play their part in determining the character of the education demanded by the workers in the industry, and may fairly be regarded as standard information required to be known about every industry before a practical scheme of education for it can be evolved. If this be true, it will readily be seen that many of our attempts at industrial education have been initiated almost in the dark, and have achieved some measure of success owing to the fact that any kind of education is better than none. It is to be hoped that all our future efforts at special education for any industry will be based on accurate data sympathetically contributed to by employers, employees, and educational authorities, as it is only by such coöperation that the highest success can be achieved.

The factors which make up the educational content of this industry have been classified as follows: general knowledge, trade knowledge, technical knowledge, and manipulative skill.

General knowledge is taken to mean a usable knowledge of English, a workable knowledge of arithmetic, writing, and hygiene, and general intelligence resulting from home, school, or business training, together with judgment and reasoning ability.

Trade knowledge is frequently termed "tricks of the trade" and "short cuts" gained through long practical experience, and handed on from worker to worker as accepted methods of work, but seldom the result of accurate technical knowledge. It may also be called "rule of thumb," and every trade has a certain measure of it.

Technical knowledge is organized knowledge based on underlying scientific principles.

Manipulative skill, frequently called "knack," is the efficient use of the body as a whole and in part so as to get successful and rapid results. Touch, as in handling fabrics of different texture, also forms an important part of manipulative skill.

The minimum of general knowledge required of workers in the trade is as follows:

Arithmetic: simple counting to two hundred or three hundred; simple addition in order to account for amount of work done; simple multiplication; fractional parts of the dollar; the dozen, the inch, and the yard.

Writing: clear handwriting and the making of figures.

Hygiene: sufficient knowledge of the care of the body to enable workers to attain physical efficiency. This includes posture, breathing, cleanliness, food, fresh air, dress, special hygiene for women.

English: reading and writing of simple English.

Elementary art: color sense sufficient to match colors in thread.

General intelligence: which enables the worker to understand directions and to make necessary adjustments for changes of style in garments.

The special demands in regard to the general knowledge of the rank and file of the garment workers as detailed above are extremely limited, and if this were all, "the situation would be deplorable"; but it is said that in addition to this specific knowledge the industry makes heavy demands on the general intelligence of the workers, varying in amount according to the operations in which they are engaged.

Organization of a factory school. A detailed analysis is made in the same way of the trade knowledge, the technical knowledge, and the manipulative skill required of the workers

in the industry, and the report concludes with a proposed organization of a factory school to give the kind of training that the investigation discovered to be necessary. Such a school will, of course, differ materially from one of the ordinary type. It must be organized as a modern factory, rather than a school as that term is ordinarily understood. It should have a well-equipped factory workroom for the trade work and an office for carrying on the work of the school according to approved business principles. Rooms for class instruction are also necessary, as it generally will be impossible to give instruction in the workroom because the machines and workers are spread over a large area. These classrooms should be equipped with plain tables and chairs like a workroom and not with desks like a schoolroom. They should also be as close to the factory workroom as possible, so as to maintain a vital connection and be considered an integral part of the organization. The business office of the school, in addition to its regular accounting system, should keep systematic records of the attendance and work of the girls.

The instruction should be given by women of experience and skill in the trade, for they will not only have to instruct and manage the girls, but will also have to turn out work in good condition and on time. It is suggested that the qualifications for a trade teacher should be two to five years' experience in the kind of work to be taught, and the equivalent of a grammar school education. The maximum number of pupils allowed to a trade teacher should be twelve. The class instruction must be given by those who know how to teach and have a thorough knowledge of the trade. They must study the trade day by day, and keep the class instruction running parallel with the work that is being turned

out from the shop. The arithmetic, English, reading, etc., must be made a vital part of the trade work, and this can be done only by the closest attention and application to those phases of the trade in which the subjects have their direct application. In the classroom the groups may perhaps be doubled up; that is, a teacher may give instruction to groups of twenty-four. The art instruction should be given by an expert in industrial art and its applications, and the materials for illustrative purposes should be garments and other material from the workroom. Health talks by nurses and physicians are all-important, and may do much to improve the general health and happiness of the worker, as well as to prevent the loss of time and wages caused by absence through sickness.

It is proposed to divide the time as follows: trade work seventeen hours per week, classroom instruction three hours per week, civics and business ethics one hour, and health lessons one hour. The two latter subjects are given a short amount of time for actual class work, but it is intended that they shall be correlated with the other instruction and be made to function through the whole of the workroom practice.

The plan proposed is to be carried out by a coöperative arrangement between the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Protective Association of New York City, Local No. 25 of the International Garment Workers' Union of New York City, and the Executive Committee of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. The following are the main points of the agreement suggested: the Board of Control is to be made up of two representatives of the manufacturers, two representatives of the union, and three persons representing the public, nominated by the National

Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education. The school at first is to deal only with girls over fourteen years of age who are already employed as cleaners and finishers in the industry. The locality of the school is to be close to the center of the industry, and it is to be operated in terms of three months, open every day in the week except Sundays and the holidays recognized in the trade. The manufacturers' association is to furnish the material and dispose of the products when finished. The girls sent to the school by the manufacturers are to attend for four hours a day for six days a week for three months, and while in attendance at the school are to be paid at the rate of six dollars per week. Certificates will be granted to all who finish the course satisfactorily, and the holders of such certificates are to be given preference over all others in selecting persons for employment, promotion, or retention in slack times. Certificated girls are entitled to the following rate of wages: nine dollars a week for the first month, rising a dollar a month to the fourth month, when the wages are to be twelve dollars per week.

If such a plan as the above can be satisfactorily carried out, it will have blazed a trail in showing the kind of investigation needed and the action that should follow the results of such an investigation. The plan contains an element that hitherto has been largely lacking. It recognizes that an inevitable result of industrial training must be an increase of wages for those who are trained. Directly the workers can be made to see that the training will show in the pay envelope, then they will seize every opportunity offered to take the training provided.

The next problem to be considered is the problem of the unskilled worker. This is one of the neglected prob-

lems, but the large number of workers who are employed in unskilled occupations, and the tendency by subdivision and specialization to increase the number, make this problem a vital one, and it will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IX

THE PROBLEM OF THE UNSKILLED WORKER

- I. What is a skilled occupation?
- II. The modern factory system.
- III. The problem common to all countries.
- IV. Recruiting unskilled workers.
- V. Industrial future of the unskilled.
- VI. Seasonal nature of women's trades.
- VII. Remedies proposed.
- VIII. The earnings of children.
- IX. Adjustment of industry to new conditions.
- X. Physical training and recreation.

VOCATIONAL education has been described as the production of skilled workers, and in the attempt to produce these, we have almost lost sight of the unskilled, and seem to have come to the conclusion that the future of our industries depends on the number of skilled workers we can produce. This conclusion ignores the present and possibly future character of our industries. There are probably more than twenty million workers in the United States who are engaged in unskilled occupations,¹ which are always overcrowded, and while it is not possible to state how many of these are girls and women, it is highly probable that a large proportion of them are. If these figures are only approximately true, the problem of the unskilled worker is one which is fraught with danger to the commonwealth

¹ Report of Royal Commission on Industrial and Technical Education, Ottawa, 1913.

and transcends in importance even the question of the production of skilled workers.

What is a skilled occupation? At a recent conference of school officials called by the Secretary of the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education the following was adopted as a tentative definition of a skilled occupation:¹

A skilled occupation is one which meets these three conditions:

1. Provision of a living wage for the worker.
2. A content which offers the possibility of differences in the quality of the work turned out.
3. Provision for promotion by constituting one of a series of progressive steps in the industry leading to something better.

Space will not allow of an analysis of this definition, but if it be accepted, as it should be, the opportunity for the use of skill in the industries, particularly the factory industries, is very small. If rigorously applied, it means probably that fully eighty per cent of the persons employed in factory production are in unskilled occupations, and it is perhaps folly to expect these industrial conditions to change materially in the immediate future. Automatic machines work cheaply, and an expensive machine requiring a skilled operator will not be installed if one can be obtained that can be run by a novice. Manufacturers will not make opportunities for skilled labor for the purpose of promoting vocational education. Industries are not philanthropic institutions; they are run for the sole purpose of making profit.

The modern factory system. Visit a large canning and pickling factory, and what do you see? Girls spending nine

¹ *Industrial Arts Magazine*, April, 1914.

and a half hours a day, five and a half days a week, fifty-two weeks in the year sorting pickles according to size. Where does any opportunity for skill come in? Others, by the aid of a cleft stick, pack olives in bottles without any change or variation the livelong day. Other girls wash bottles, place the labels on them, wrap them and pack them in cans. These girls work in groups of six or eight. They sit at a table, in the center of which is a traveling belt. The first girl washes the bottle and places it on the belt, the next puts the paste on the label, the next puts the label on the bottle, the next puts the paste on the edge of the wrapper, the next puts the wrapper on the bottle, the next one inspects the job, and the last one puts the bottle in the crate. As the gang is paid by the number of crates they pack in a day the wages of each girl depends not only on her own speed, but also on that of the speed of the others, and so every girl rushes every other girl, in order to earn as much as possible. Cases of this kind could be multiplied by the hundred. These girls do not change their jobs, as this would lessen their speed and decrease the output.

It is this modern factory system which has transformed the highly skilled trades of a century ago into the industries of to-day, in which the great majority of the occupations are low grade skilled, or unskilled. Miss Anna Hedges, in her study of 617 girls engaged in factory operations, became so depressed at the fact that the girls entering industrial occupations were doomed to spend their time on one small process that she exclaimed, "Trade schools belong to the past when preparation for trades was needed."¹ The survey of the educational and industrial possibilities of Richmond,

¹ "Problems of Vocational Education in Germany." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1915, No. 33.

Virginia, an important industrial city having a population of 135,000, frankly recognizes this situation when it states, "There is no need or possibility of a girls' trade school for Richmond,"¹ owing to the comparatively small demand for highly skilled labor. Mr. Howard Cheney of South Manchester says: "When we have made the most liberal estimates which it is possible for us to conceive of, the skilled trades are going to draw upon not over one third of the pupils who are going to work after they leave school. . . . The remaining two thirds are going to work in industries requiring a low or medium grade of skill."

The question then is, What can vocational training have to do with weighing tacks, with clipping threads, with filling bottles, with ticketing garments, with wrapping candy, with sorting screws, and many other kinds of work of a similar character which our industries offer to the large majority of girls they now employ? Skill is not easily defined, as it varies according to the industry. In many cases it simply means speed in processes such as sewing on buttons, folding pamphlets, or operating an envelope machine. In straw-sewing, machine embroidery, and the making of lace skill means accuracy and delicacy of touch. In the work of a designer or the work of a forewoman, in addition to deftness of hand the term "skill" includes imagination, organizing ability, and general intelligence.

The problem common to all countries. The problem of the unskilled worker is common to all countries where industry is highly specialized and subdivided. In those countries that have resisted the factory system and retained in a large measure the handicraft system, the problem is

¹ "Vocational Education," Survey of Richmond, Va. Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington.

not so acute. In Germany it is said that thirty per cent of the industry is still carried on under the handicraft system, while in the United States it has fallen to three per cent. Even Germany, whose example we have had preached at us for the last twenty years, has not satisfactorily solved this problem. In relation to this a pamphlet issued by the "Girls' and Women's Bureau of Cleveland" says: "We see Germany with its years' old complete system of education and trade training throughout its cities and towns, so that the boast is made that it is a difficult thing for the working-class German child in a German city to escape a vocational training. In 1908 in Munich 2200 boys left the highest elementary school grade and 2150 of these went into skilled work. How then has Germany, in training all for skill, found enough skilled work to go around? And what has become of mechanical jobs? Germany, to utilize her trained workmen, has drawn skilled work from other countries until the phrase 'made in Germany' has become a by-word of the nations. She has stolen jobs for the skilled workers; and she has stolen workers for the mechanical jobs. She has solved the problem for Germans, but she has not solved it for humanity. It is encouraging to know that on the one hand practically all German workmen are skilled; but, on the other, in 1908, one hundred thousand foreigners, chiefly Italians, were doing Germany's unskilled jobs. And Germany has carefully restricted these foreigners from advancing to the detriment of Germans. Thus she has merely sidestepped the chief problem — the unskilled in industry."

Recruiting unskilled workers. Now it will be the wisest policy for us to recognize the fact that unskilled work is here to stay, and to boldly face the problem that this large

number of unskilled workers forces upon us. In this connection the first question to be considered is, Where do these unskilled workers come from, and how is this large army recruited? There can be no manner of doubt that it is recruited largely if not entirely from the great number of children leaving school at too early an age. Theoretically, the public schools should be so attractive and so effective, that when once a girl enters, she should continue at least until the elementary course is finished, but that this is not the case is shown by the contention of Dr. Leonard P. Ayres that forty-nine per cent of the children on the average entering the schools of fifty-nine cities of the United States leave before entering grade eight—the final elementary grade; while Dr. E. L. Thorndike holds that on the average in sixteen of our largest cities two out of every three withdraw without having done more than the work of the seventh grade.

Take the situation in a typical city—Indianapolis.¹ The department of attendance of the board of education reports that for 1913-14, under the new law requiring working certificates for persons between fourteen and sixteen years of age, there were issued by the department permits to work to 857 different boys and 653 different girls, a total of 1510 children between fourteen and sixteen years of age who had left school to go to work. Of this number 152 boys and 127 girls secured two certificates during the year; forty boys and twenty-eight girls secured three certificates; ten boys and three girls secured four certificates; two boys and one girl received five certificates; two boys received six certificates, and one boy had the distinction of getting seven

¹ "Part-time Education in Indianapolis." Chamber of Commerce, Indianapolis.

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different jobs, for which he secured working certificates during the year. At this rate of leaving school there would be in five years 7550 children who had left school between fourteen and sixteen years of age. The grade of advancement of these children is significant. Twenty-nine boys and thirteen girls were under the sixth grade; 265 boys and 136 girls were in the sixth grade; 238 boys and 154 girls were in the seventh grade; 130 boys and 116 girls were in the eighth grade, and 195 boys and 234 girls were above the eighth grade.

Take another illustration.¹ The following table shows the educational status of 7854 girls who are now working. The figures were obtained during an investigation of the working girls attending the New York evening schools.

GRADE AT LEAVING SCHOOL	WOMEN EMPLOYED IN					TOTAL
	Manu- facturing and Mé- chanical Pursuits	Trade and Transpor- tation	Domestic and Per- sonal Service	Profes- sional Service	No Gain- ful Oc- cupation	
Number who left:						
In first grade.....	4				4	4
In second grade....	9	1	3		4	17
In third grade.....	10	1	2		8	21
In fourth grade....	51	11	5		33	100
In fifth grade.....	196	44	13		96	349
In sixth grade.....	397	181	9		185	772
In seventh grade...	528	353	15	3	343	1242
In eighth grade....	196	255	7	4	189	651
Elem. sch. grad....	499	1683	11	20	682	2895
High sch. non-grad.	133	901	4	14	524	1576
High sch. graduate.	4	74	1	107	41	227
Total.....	2027	3504	70	148	2105	7854

¹ Van Kleeck, *Working Girls in Evening Schools*. Russell Sage Foundation, New York.

The table shows the school grades reached by the girls in the different occupational groups. In professional service seventy-two per cent graduated from the high school; in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits only a small fraction of one per cent (0.2 per cent) so graduated. Among the factory girls one third left school when in the sixth year or below, and nearly three fifths before reaching the eighth year. In trade and transportation seventy-six per cent finished the elementary grades and twenty-eight per cent went to high school, from which, however, only 2.1 per cent graduated. In the ranks of women at work in domestic and personal service only twenty-three per cent had completed the elementary school course and only thirty-three per cent had ever gone beyond the seventh grade.

The conclusion seems warranted that the girl who leaves the elementary school before completing the grades is most likely to earn her living in factory work, or in domestic and personal service, while if she completes the grades, she will be more likely to find employment in trade and transportation, and if she finishes high school, she is on the road to some kind of professional work. The further conclusion is drawn that only the first seven grades in the schools under present conditions are in contact with the majority of the future employees in the factory industries.

Industrial future of the unskilled. The question now presents itself as to the immediate industrial future of these children who leave school at this early age. Let us take a few typical examples. In Wisconsin¹ it is said that there is a group of about four thousand girls with an average of fifteen years, earning an average wage of little more than three dollars per week. They are employed in candy making,

¹ *Industrial Arts Magazine*, September, 1914.

canning and bottling, hand finishing and sewing for tailors and knitters, spinning, spooling and winding, machine knitting, taping, net weaving, turning gloves and linings, pasting and labeling, cash and messenger service, etc. Out of the four thousand girls five hundred hold the same job less than one month; one thousand hold the job less than three months; one thousand less than six months, and barely twenty-five hold the same job for two years. A large number of these young workers drift from place to place, and never become really proficient in any one thing. The instability of these young workers is a problem in almost all industries and cities. "One half the girls,"¹ remarked the superintendent of a large corset factory in Worcester, "get discouraged before they reach the point of maximum speed, and quit when they are probably just about to strike a paying point." A large rubber factory in Watertown, adjoining Cambridge, which employs 1600 workers at any one time, reports that 4500 were on the pay roll in one year. A jewelry factory in Somerville reports that five out of every six workers leave in a year; another says that the whole force shifts every year. "The monotonous repetition of work, inability to meet the demands of the trade, inefficiency, discouragements, and the seasonal fluctuations are producing an army of fluctuating, unskilled, low-paid workers which involves many industrial, economic and social complications."

Seasonal nature of women's trades. Trades for women are very largely seasonal; that is, for a certain period there is slack work or no work. The New York Factory Investigating Commission reports that twenty-five per cent of the

¹ "A Trade School for Girls." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1913, No. 17.

workers in the confectionery trade are dismissed immediately after Christmas, and in the shirt industry there is a fluctuation of thirty-three per cent. Eighteen large department stores in New York City employed, in their busy season before Christmas, about fifty-six thousand people and in the slack season during the summer about thirty-five thousand — a difference of about twenty-one thousand people. The usual number employed is about forty-two thousand. In the confectionery and paper box industry three times as many people as the firms ordinarily employ at one time enter and leave the industries. Out of 3983 workers employed in the millinery shops only seventeen per cent appeared on the pay roll of any one shop forty weeks or longer in the year studied, while only fifty-two per cent worked eight weeks in the same shop.

In the department stores the shifting of employees is very great. One of the large stores in New York City hired over 12,000 employees in one year in order to maintain a permanent force of little over 3000. The fluctuation in seven of these stores is shown as follows:

AVERAGE NO. EMPLOYED	NO. ADDED	NO. DROPPED OR LEAVING
5,000	5,500	
4,296	5,979	6,712
3,750	12,150	10,382
3,500	8,155	8,750
3,497	875	940
2,313	2,967	2,539
4,272	6,809	6,712 ¹

Take the following to show how this works out in the case of individuals. These examples form part of the industrial

¹ Report of New York Factory Investigating Commission, 1915, Vol. I.

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history of a boy and girl drawn from records kept in Milwaukee.

A GIRL FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE

Sept. 17, 1913.....	Western Leather Co.
Oct. 1.....	Badger Candy Co.
Oct. 3.....	O. C. Hansen Mfg. Co.
Oct. 8.....	Unemployed.
Oct. 9.....	Robt. A. Johnstone Co.
Oct. 19.....	Campbell Laundry Co.
March 10, 1914.....	Unemployed.

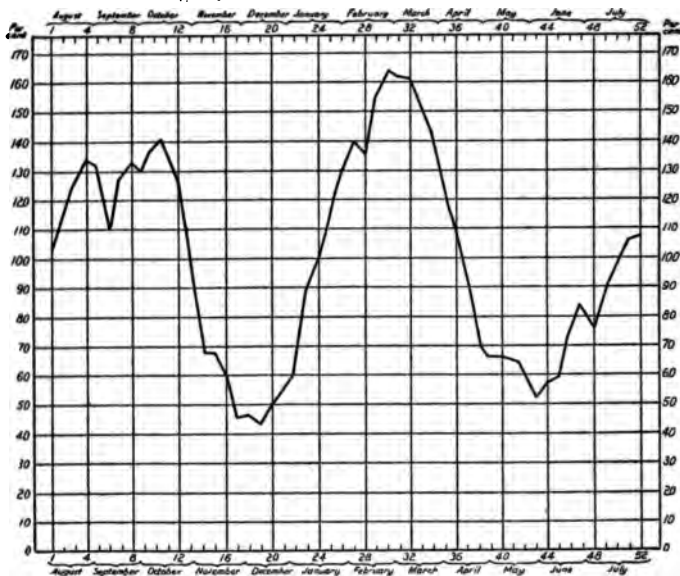
A BOY FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE

April 21, 1913.....	Morawetz Co.
July 9.....	Unemployed.
July 12.....	Cutter-Hammer Mfg. Co.
July 25.....	Unemployed.
Aug. 2.....	P. G. Braun Glove Co.
Oct. 2.....	Unemployed.
Oct. 3.....	F. Elder Fur Co.
Jan. 22, 1914.....	Unemployed.
Jan. 27.....	Pepak Bros. ¹

The chart on the following page shows the seasonal fluctuations of employment in seventy-five association shops in the cloak, suit, and skirt industry of New York City as shown by the weekly pay rolls for all productive labor, August, 1912, to July, 1913. The average weekly pay roll for the year equals one hundred.

The bearing of the above examples on the question of unskilled labor is this, that the workers who are dismissed most quickly are the low-paid, unskilled workers who can least bear being out of work, and it is from the ranks of those who leave school early that these unskilled workers are most largely drawn. The question now is, What must we do to be saved?

¹ *Industrial Arts Magazine*, August, 1914.



Remedies proposed. The remedy generally proposed for this condition of things is the industrial training of the girl in order that she may become a skilled worker. It has already been pointed out that in innumerable processes no skill is required. Far more important and far-reaching than the lack of skilled workers is the lack of opportunity to use skill in the various industries. The problem cannot be solved by the production of more skilled workers, unless at the same time we increase the opportunities for using skill, and this is an industrial problem rather than an educational one.

Reduce the supply of unskilled labor. The first requisite in solving this question is to reduce the supply of unskilled labor, and this can be done in two ways: (1) by enforcing the present laws regarding compulsory attendance, and

(2) by raising the age of compulsory attendance to sixteen years. The Commissioner of Education reports that of twenty-five million children of school age (five to eighteen) less than twenty million are enrolled in school, and that the average daily attendance does not exceed fourteen million for an average school term of less than eight months of twenty days each. The average attendance of those enrolled in the public schools is only 113 days in the year. In ten states less than two thirds of the school population are enrolled. In seventeen states less than two thirds of those enrolled are in average daily attendance. In twenty states the average length of a school term is less than one hundred days. In forty-two states the average attendance is less than one hundred days, in nineteen states less than seventy-five days, and in five states less than fifty days.

From these figures we can only come to two conclusions, either that compulsory laws do not exist in regard to elementary education, or that if they do exist they are not enforced. It is sometimes said that, in view of the life for which the girl is to be trained, we need a new type of teacher. Perhaps this may be true, but we also need a new kind of attendance officer, one who will without fear or favor enforce the laws and secure the attendance at school of every child in his district, regardless of whom it may offend. When the existing laws are enforced, then, and not till then, will it be justifiable to raise the age of compulsion to sixteen years.

Notwithstanding all our educational surveys and propaganda, the average parent has yet to be convinced that education for the girl beyond fourteen, and sometimes even up to fourteen is not a waste of time as far as wage-earning power is concerned. It is folly to go on expecting that we can change

this attitude of the parent by moral suasion. The law must be invoked and the employment of children before reaching the age of sixteen be made illegal. When this can be done, the question naturally arises as to the type of education to be given in the two years thus gained. These two years must be devoted to studies along prevocational and vocational lines, the methods of which have not yet been fully worked out. Hopeful experiments in this direction are now being made, and there is reason to believe that from some of these experiments a scheme will be evolved which will meet the needs of a large majority of the girls, who for various reasons are not able to proceed to higher institutions of learning.

Raise the school age to sixteen years. Assuming that the present laws can be rigidly and impartially enforced, and that education of a satisfactory vocational type can be evolved for the years fourteen to sixteen, the raising of the age to sixteen is quite justifiable. Two main objections are urged against this, the first being that it would cripple a large number of the industries that now employ little girls to do their unskilled labor; and the second is, that it would inflict great hardship upon a large number of parents who need the earnings of these young children.

With reference to the first objection it may be said that young human life is too precious and too vital to the future welfare of the nation to be cramped into a mold to meet the demands of subdivided, highly specialized, and commercialized industries. The industries should exist for the girl and not the girl for the industries, and until this view is recognized the education of our girls will not be such as is demanded by a real civilization. There is even more justification for raising the age in the case of the girls than

there is in the case of the boys. The girls are the future wives and mothers of the race, and upon their physical perfection, state of health, and poise of mind, the future of that race depends more than it does upon the commercial success of our industries. That this future of the race is imperiled by the too early entry of young girls into industries will not be questioned by those who know anything of the conditions under which much of their work is done. Girls should be prohibited by law from all trades which menace their physical and moral well-being. The trades remaining should be carefully selected on the basis of labor demand, opportunity for advancement in efficiency and remuneration, their effect upon womanly instincts and domestic tastes; and in the trades thus selected they should receive as careful training as that given to boys.

Continued education. Some states, such as Wisconsin, have already made a beginning in the direction of continued education for the fourteen to sixteen year old girl. Here they have a measure of legal compulsion for the permit worker fourteen to sixteen years of age and the power to levy a tax of half a mill on each dollar of the assessed value of the city to support the work. It is found that these permit workers are "practically all poor readers, poor spellers, inaccurate in their mathematical processes, and apparently without the general knowledge which they would be reasonably expected to possess in view of their age and years in school."¹ About four hours a week are given to this work from the employers' time, and that without loss of pay. This is justifiable on the ground that such continued education makes the employee more intelligent, and thus of greater value to the employer. In addition to such compulsory classes there

¹ *Industrial Arts Magazine*, August, 1914.

are other classes of a voluntary character, such as classes for saleswomen. In Milwaukee a class of young women from the department stores attends school, one half of each day for a period of three months, and is taught by an expert saleswoman who has been specially trained for this work. In addition some of the teachers go out to the stores to meet larger groups of clerks for the discussion of their store problems. If measures such as these were generally adopted, the transition to compulsory education up to sixteen years of age would be rendered easier of accomplishment.

Training away from unskilled jobs. The unskilled occupations to which we have been directing attention are, in normal times, always overcrowded, and there is apparently no need of training in order to obtain sufficient workers. At present there has not been discovered any body of related study in arithmetic, drawing, science, art of any kind, that can be given to these workers that will make them more skilful, as in the majority of cases it is speed and not intelligence that is required. Hence the problem is, in nearly all cases, to train them away from the thing they are doing over towards another occupation, or away from illiteracy, or near illiteracy, and towards self-improvement, or deal with them through some kind of educational recreation. Dr. Münsterberg, in his book *Vocation and Learning*, says: "The ideal fulfillment of the economic work of the nation ought to be the inspiration for every one who does a useful piece of service even in the humblest position. . . . The toiler's attention may be absorbed by the unpleasant drudgery of his labor or by the pleasant gain at the week's end, but in his deepest mind he ought never to forget that he is helping along that wonderful work of economic achievement which gives worthy meaning to his

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industrious days. . . . Paths of ideal achievement are open before every one, poor or rich, well versed in high studies or trained by humble education, in the metropolis, and on the farm, boy or girl. And whoever feels the need of the ideal fulfillment will gain enduring happiness in his vocation, whether he be the director of the company, or the office boy, whether she be the college president or the kitchen girl."

No system of education or course of instruction that was ever yet planned, or ever will be planned, can accomplish the impossible. What "enduring happiness" can there be in stuffing olives in bottles for nine and a half hours a day? What "paths of ideal achievement" by sorting onions for the same length of time? In addition to the unpleasant character of much of the unskilled work, it is characterized by extreme monotony and excessive speed. A catcher in a cigarette factory during a day of ten hours will catch and examine from 130,000 to 150,000 cigarettes, and in hand packing of cigars it is said "the movements soon become mechanical so that the packer keeps her hands and body moving unconsciously even when she is not packing."¹ The report from which the above is quoted is full of instances of such extreme monotony and speed.

In the confectionery industry it is found that a hand dipper must coat about fifteen pounds, say 720 pieces, of cream candy with chocolate per hour, or one piece every five seconds, to earn fifteen cents. A girl to earn six dollars a week in the paper box industry must paste paper strips on the sides of six thousand boxes or one every half minute.

¹ "Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States," Vol. 18. Department of Commerce and Labor.

To earn \$6.50 a week a shirt maker must join the backs and fronts of 5208 shirts.¹ An inspector of boxes in a box factory inspects thirty thousand boxes a day, looking for twelve separate defects on each box. Her wage is six dollars a week.² The time must soon come when the conditions as to speed and hours of women workers will be regulated by stringent laws as the true relation between fatigue and efficiency becomes better known.

It is very hard for a girl engaged in these and kindred occupations to think that she "is helping along that wonderful work of economic achievement which gives worthy meaning to industrious days." The only satisfaction ever got out of work of this character is the weekly pay envelope, and too often that is miserably small. Let us frankly recognize that there is little pleasure to be got out of such jobs, and while endeavoring to give these workers a wider outlook outside their jobs, make every effort to train them away from them.

The earnings of children. The argument that the earnings of these young children are needed by their parents is not borne out by the facts in a large number of cases. It is difficult to discover the exact situation owing to the fact that no one as yet has accurately determined how to either measure or define economic pressure, and in most investigations yet conducted the statements of the parent and the child are the only sources from which data have been secured. There is a wide divergence in the results of these investigations. Take the following as illustrating this difference of opinion:

¹ Report of New York State Factory Investigating Commission, 1915, Vol. 1. Albany.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 5. Albany.

"Three hundred and eighty out of a total of 530 or seventy-two per cent left school on account of economic pressure."¹

"That 'money was needed' was volunteered generally as a reason more than any other and a real need for the child's earnings often exists."²

"A table is given showing that out of a total of 620, 186 or thirty per cent left school because of economic pressure."³

"Of 214 families studied fully one half the girls were not forced to curtail their education and fifty-five per cent were living in really comfortable homes."⁴

"Forty per cent of these families declared they wanted their children to remain in school and what is more tragic, sixty-six per cent of them could have kept them there. Those who left school from necessity were 2450 out of 5549 (forty-four per cent)."⁵

"Out of this number 330 (fifty-two per cent) gave lack of money as the prime cause of leaving school."⁶

"On the basis of the government's standard of income only twenty per cent of the children had to leave on account of economic pressure."⁷

"Only twenty-seven per cent of the families were believed to require the earnings of the children, while seventy-three per cent apparently had no such economic need."⁸

¹ "A Plea for Vocational Training." *The Survey*, August 7, 1909.

² "The Working Girl from the Elementary Schools in New York." *Charities and the Commons*, February 22, 1908.

³ "Condition of Women and Child Wage Earners in the United States," Vol. 7. Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington.

⁴ "A Trade School for Girls." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1913, No. 17.

⁵ Report of Massachusetts Commission on Industrial Education, April, 1906.

⁶ Talbert, Ernest L., *Opportunities in School and Industry for Children in the Stockyard District*.

⁷ Report of Superintendent of Schools, New York, 1912.

⁸ *Survey*, August 9, 1913.

It will be seen that the estimates in these investigations vary from twenty per cent to seventy-two per cent. The variations are probably caused by the different methods of the investigators and the varying conditions in the different localities in which the investigations were conducted. Where hardship is really felt by the withdrawal of the child's earnings, this hardship might be avoided, or considerably lessened by scholarships or maintenance allowances. This plan has been found to work well on a limited scale in the Manhattan Trade School for Girls, New York, and the Boston Trade School for Girls. The state would be fully justified in making such allowances. The fact that the child's earnings are needed in some cases is often due to the fact that several members of the same family are engaged in unskilled labor, the wages for which are low. Thus the problem of the unskilled meets us at every point.

Adjustment of industry to new conditions. When the supply of unskilled labor fails, industry will accommodate itself to the change, and by a process of readjustment find different work for those who are now employed in monotonous, soul-wearying tasks. The time when every worker will be able to find congenial employment is far distant. We cannot make sorting pickles, work in packing houses, more ideal to the workers by telling them how the onions grow or how the beast is fed; but shorter working hours must come, and this will give more leisure, and it is out of this leisure that the worker may find the "paths of ideal achievement." For these workers we must have education for leisure or as it has been aptly called "avocational education." The mind which is allowed to remain stagnant will grow weeds, and thus become dangerous to the national life. It must be remembered that the operations in which many

of these workers are engaged become so mechanical that they are performed like the working of a machine, and require no thought or mental process of any kind on the part of those engaged therein.

The mind and mental powers of the operator must be trained outside the industry in which she is engaged. The demand on the part of the public for vocational training is not only a challenge to the schools to give it, but it is a challenge more especially to the industries to provide opportunities for the workers when the training has been given. As Dr. J. H. Finley, Commissioner of Education for New York State, says: "It is a challenge to each industry as to what it has to offer each boy or girl whom it invites into its factory doors. A challenge to show a clean bill of health with respect to all such factors as opportunity for advancement, educational content, wages, hours, and hygienic conditions. If industry has been so developed that it leads to intellectual degeneration in its workers, it then becomes the duty of the state to correct and counteract the evil."

Physical training and recreation. Classes for physical education and recreation are needed to counteract the wearing influence of monotony. The physical exercises should be different for those girls engaged in work that requires a standing position from those provided for girls engaged in work requiring a sitting position. Folk dancing, recreational games, and physical drill to music could be made of great use. Considerable attention should also be paid to personal hygiene, and the amount and kind of food to maintain efficiency. Many girls who will not attend classes for serious prolonged study may be reached through clubs, social settlements, and other organizations of a kindred nature, and where the school is used as a social center much

may be done in this connection. Entertainment and recreation is the main object of those who attend such classes, but, if properly handled, this may be made instructional and educational without interfering with the recreational character of the work. Examples of activities of this kind are dramatic clubs, reading and story-telling clubs, embroidery clubs, fancy work clubs, etc. The moving picture machine may be made use of. The best literature is now being dramatized for this machine, and many famous classics are being introduced to the people in this way. The use of this means of education has hardly yet been touched.

If the conditions portrayed above are only partially true, it becomes clear that no system of vocational education can be considered complete that does not provide training, though perhaps of a different kind, for the unskilled and low-skilled worker, as well as for those in the more highly skilled occupations.

CHAPTER X

TYPES OF SCHOOLS AND ORGANIZATIONS FOR THE VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF WOMEN

- I. Introduction.
- II. Differentiated courses.
- III. Prevocational schools.
- IV. Trade schools.
- V. The teacher.
- VI. Disposal of the product.
- VII. Part-time education.
- VIII. Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston.

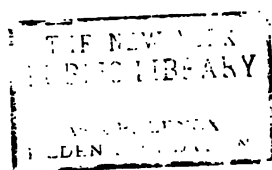
Introduction. The problem of the vocational education of girls and women is, as has already been pointed out, a twofold one, and this twofold purpose cannot in practice be separated. For the sake of convenience the question of instruction in household arts for the purpose of training efficient housewives has been dealt with separately, and will not be further referred to here; but it must be remembered that in every school of whatever type, for the industrial training of girls, this instruction must be given a place, and that in many cases this instruction may be given a definite industrial value which may be made of direct use for wage-earning purposes outside the home.

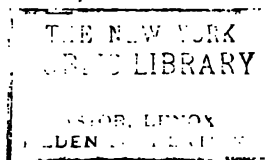
The problem is still further complicated by the fact that owing to the economic position of woman as the consumer of the world's goods and the spender of her husband's money she should be given, whether she is to be a wage-earner or

course, she will thus get a glimpse of each of the four main groups of work in which women are engaged and be able to discover to some extent in what branch she has the greatest aptitude.

Another example of such differentiated courses is found in Fitchburg, Massachusetts. The State Normal School offers to pupils from any part of the city, who have completed the sixth grade, the choice of four courses with one third of the time given to manual arts, household arts, or commercial studies. In the manual arts course (boys) ten hours a week are given to drawing and design, making and repairing. In the household arts course ten hours a week are devoted to work in domestic art and science. In the commercial course five hours a week are given to bookkeeping, business forms and procedure, business arithmetic and related design, and five hours to typewriting and handwork. In the literary course five hours a week are given to modern literature, and five hours to drawing, design, making and repairing for the boys, and household arts for the girls. In all courses twelve and a half hours a week are given to English, mathematics, geography, history, and science, and seven and a half hours to physical training, music, general exercises, and recesses. The literary course is designed for those who expect to enter high school and proceed to college. The other courses, while admitting to the high school, aim also to give a practical preparation for life work to those who expect to leave school at fourteen years of age. The school is in session thirty hours a week.

The work in the industrial department is of a very practical character. In household arts, while leading directly to the home, the work is of such a nature that it may be expected to lead to many occupations in which women are





engaged outside the home. Women are entering the field of food manufacture and service to such an extent as to open up many other lines of work for which girls can be trained, and in the near future it may be expected that the household arts courses in our schools will be given a more industrial and wage-earning trend, just as the manual training courses are now being modified in this direction. The work in type-writing has consisted in copying letters to industrial plants in various towns and cities, asking for catalogues and industrial exhibits, original letters to school children in different parts of New England, describing Fitchburg industries, and requesting replies giving the same information regarding their cities, copying letters to parents explaining courses offered by the school, and various other kinds of practical work.

Courses of the above character have the decided advantage of giving some definite industrial training, at the same time they prepare for high school; thus leaving open the way to a higher education should a change in the circumstances of the family make this possible, or a change in the views and purpose of the girl render it desirable.

Prevocational schools. The type of school we have next to consider is the prevocational school. Most enlightened employers are now agreed that the boy or girl of fourteen to sixteen years of age is not an industrial asset, and that efforts should be made to keep them out of industry, and if this is to be done, other means than those now provided by the traditional high school must be evolved. A school of the prevocational type should take the girl at fourteen years of age and give two years' specific vocational training, the last of which might be specialized training in her self-chosen trade or industry. Such classes are not yet established in large numbers. Examples are to be found in Rochester, Albany,

and some towns of Massachusetts, but the courses in them are yet centered around the activities of the home and, outside perhaps dressmaking and millinery, do not attempt to prepare for specific industries.

If these schools were generally established, they would probably reach a large number of boys and girls who now leave school at the age of fourteen, and supply a training that would give a better equipment to enter industrial life at sixteen. Such schools take their pupils at an age when the question of wages is not generally so important as later, and many parents would be willing to support their children at school for one or two years if convinced that practical benefits would follow. Herein lies the crux of the whole matter. The parents must be convinced that financial benefit will result to the future wage-earner before they will be willing to support such schools. 'The employers who profess to believe that the girl of fourteen is not desirable in the factory must be willing to back up their belief by higher wages to the girl of sixteen, and the conductors of surveys could not do better than direct some of their attention to the greater wage-earning capacity of the trained worker and show, if such can be shown, and we confidently believe that it can, that in a number of years the total earnings of the trained greatly exceed those of the untrained.

In the present economic condition of society sermons on the text "Education for education's sake" fall on stony ground. There are many trades in which women are engaged for which training could be given, such as engraving, photography, millinery, garment making, embroidery, laundry work, cooking, institutional and lunch-room management. These subjects should be taught as trade subjects, and no form of glorified manual arts will meet either the needs of the pupils

or of the industrial world. A prevocational school is, primarily, for the purpose of enabling pupils to select a vocation and secondly, to partially acquire it. They must be taught correct business methods, and not be allowed to dawdle and play with industrial elements or they will leave the school with false ideas of industry and of the part that economy of time and effort plays in the industrial world.

Trade schools. Probably the most important type of school for the real vocational education of girls is that known as the "trade school." This was once used as a term of contempt, as it was thought to imply a type of training fit only for those who were not competent to enter a high school, but the contempt has now been outlived, and even the high schools are giving considerable attention to the vocational element in their curricula. If conditions were ideal, perhaps no girl would ever need to attend a trade school with the idea of engaging in practical industry outside the home, and no girl would be allowed to enter a trade school under sixteen years of age, but conditions are not ideal, and many trade schools are forced by economic conditions and the needs of their constituents to admit girls at fourteen or even younger.

Trade schools for boys have long been in existence, but trade schools for girls are not so old. Several of the schools now established were begun under private auspices, and after they had demonstrated their usefulness were incorporated into the public school system.

The first trade school for girls in Europe. This was established in 1865 and is known as the Bischoffsheim¹ school, situated in Brussels. Its main work is the teaching of the artistic trades, and much attention is paid to drawing and paint-

¹ "A Glance at Some European and American Vocational Schools." Consumers' League of Connecticut.

ing. Girls are admitted as young as twelve years, though but few of this age are found in the school. The school specializes in the making of artificial flowers. The equipment is said to be so simple that it would be easy to introduce this industry for girls into American cities. The whole outfit occupies one medium-sized light room, and consists of several long plain wooden tables, two alcohol lamps, a glue pot, and a few small tools for each girl, fresh flowers in vases for models, and the materials out of which the flowers are made. A drawing is first made of the flower and of each part of the flower, and colored in exact tints, and from the drawing the artificial flower is constructed. Each girl learns how to mix the dyes so as to produce all kinds of neutral tints, and keeps a book of drawings and a notebook in which the method of making each flower is written down in detail. The flowers are sold to the stores, each girl receiving what is paid for her work. This school is a notable example of simple equipment thoroughly adapted to its purpose.

Trade schools for girls in London. The day trade schools of the London (England) County Council are an excellent type. One of the best known of these is that at Bloomsbury.¹ This is known as an all-day or pre-apprentice trade school, and was originally established by private enterprise as the Westcot Tailor Shop, and trained fifteen girls at one time. In 1907 it was taken over by the educational authorities of the city of London and incorporated into its system of schools. The purpose of the school is to fit girls for skilled employment and to offer improvement courses for those already in the trade. Apprenticeship in the trades in the locality covers a period of two years (generally without inden-

¹ "Some Trade Schools in Europe." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 23.

tures) and the school gives this apprentice training in the same length of time. The industries will not take a girl under sixteen, but she can enter this school at fourteen and in two years is able to enter the trade with two years' training and no apprenticeship to serve.

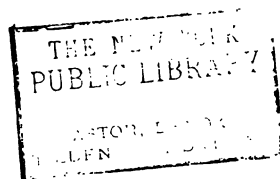
The entire direction of the school is in the hands of the London County Council, subject to the approval of the National Board of Education. The total annual cost of running the school is twenty thousand dollars and is made up by a grant from the National Board of Education, a small amount from fees, and the balance by the London County Council. The fees are two dollars each term, of which there are three in the year. Scholarships, based on the wages that would be earned in the trade, are offered to assist needy parents to allow their girls to take the training. The courses are so arranged that the graduates of the school may enter the trade at the beginning of the busy season.

The following trades are taught: corset making, ladies' coat tailoring, ladies' skirt tailoring, dressmaking, millinery, photography. These were chosen because they appeared on inquiry to offer good prospects, to show a steady demand for competent hands, while not providing means within themselves to meet the demand, and to lend themselves to classroom work. The school accommodates 175 students. Every student has to serve a probationary period of three months, and at the end of the first year the parent or guardian is required to sign a declaration that it is his intention to have the child use the training for employment in the trade after graduation. No child is allowed to continue whose parent fails to sign this declaration. The probationary period is largely used for the observation of the girl as to her suitability for the trade she has chosen, and the school not only trains

the girls for the industries, but carefully selects them, and thus many misfits are avoided.

About two thirds of the time is given to actual trade instruction on commercial work, and one third is devoted to the continued general education of the pupils in English, arithmetic, drawing, and hygiene, and physical exercises. This instruction is not the same for all, but is differentiated according to the trade taught. All the work of the school is conducted on a commercial basis. Orders are taken from private persons interested in the school, and the charge made covers the cost of the material and one third the market value for the making, which is decided by the teacher, who has had working experience in the trade. The school is open for each trade seven hours a day, five days a week, and forty-two weeks in the year.

In addition to the day school there is also a continuation school department and there was originally an evening school department. The fees for these classes are graduated according to the earnings of the student. If she is employed in the trade, she is admitted without charge, on presenting a certificate from her employer; if not, she is charged two dollars a session if earning over six dollars a week; if she is earning less than six dollars the fee is one dollar per session. The experience of the evening department in connection with this school is interesting. The hours in the trades taught are usually nine, and the authorities of the school consider that girls working these hours cannot reasonably be expected to attend evening classes. The continuation school teaches dressmaking and millinery from 5.45 to 7.50 on two evenings per week, an apprentice wage being paid by the employer while the girl is receiving instruction, but the employers as a whole are not enthusiastic over this department. The





Courtesy of Manhattan Trade School for Girls.

GLOVE MAKING.

wage of a girl without training is for the first year 2s. 6d. to 3s. per week and for the second year 5s. per week; but no difficulty is found in placing all graduates of the school at 10s. per week, and in many cases 12s. has been received. Before a girl is placed, the applying employer is visited by the trade teacher, and unless conditions are satisfactory a girl is not sent. Each girl is carefully selected for the work required. The success of the graduates is shown by the fact that employers with whom the graduates have been placed apply to the school again and again for employees.

There is a consultative committee of employers in connection with the school, but no organized placement department. The general direction of the school is in the hands of an advisory board, composed of men and women from the various trades. The entrance requirements for the day school are that the student must be at least fourteen years of age and have passed the seventh standard (junior fourth) of the general elementary school.

There are other schools of this type throughout the city of London, and all the work is done under shop conditions, is kept in close touch with the trade world, and is far removed from the traditional aspect of a school.

Manhattan Trade School for Girls. A school which has attracted world-wide notice is the Manhattan Trade School for Girls, New York — the first trade school in America for girls fourteen years of age. Every writer on the subject of industrial education has pointed to Germany when he wished to cite an example of what America should do in the way of training its workers, and it would be almost impossible to find any treatment of the subject which does not eulogize the system adopted in that country. There is more justification for using this school in the same way. It is purely a

product of the American continent, and has blazed a trail. Its history and organization are typical of American conditions, possibilities, and requirements, and offer us many lessons and suggestions which we cannot afford to ignore. Probably more has been written in magazine articles and educational periodicals about this school than about any other school on the American continent. The materials for this sketch are drawn from two personal visits to the school in the early days, the *Making of a Trade School* by Mrs. Woolman, its first director, many magazine articles recording the impressions of various visitors, and the last annual report of the school.

The school began its work in November, 1902, in a large private house which was equipped like a factory, and could comfortably accommodate 100 pupils. The trades selected centered round the needle, the paste brush, and the sewing machine. The school began with twenty pupils, but in a few months one hundred were on the register and others were applying. In June, 1906, new premises were purchased which could accommodate five hundred girls. The school arose out of a social study of the conditions of working girls in New York City. This investigation led to the following conclusions: (1) that the wages of unskilled labor are declining, (2) that the supply of skilled labor is inadequate, (3) that the condition of the young inexperienced girl must be ameliorated by the speedy opening of a trade school for those who have reached the age to obtain working papers, (4) that if public instruction could not immediately undertake this, then private initiative must do it.

The school began its work under great difficulties mainly arising from the following causes: first, employers were prejudiced against such schools because girls formerly trained

in them had not given satisfaction when brought face to face with actual trade conditions, second, the parents felt they could not afford to send their children to school beyond the compulsory period. But these difficulties were gradually overcome as the girls demonstrated the worth of their training in actual practice, and were able to take home a larger pay envelope.

The selection of the trades to be taught was made after five months' investigation in the factories, workrooms, and department stores of New York City. The occupations chosen employ large numbers of women, require expert workers, do not provide facilities for training within themselves, provide a chance to rise to better positions, and pay good wages; and favorable physical and moral conditions prevail in the workrooms. Plans were made so that the workers in a seasonal industry could be enabled to shift to an allied trade when their own was slack. The most skilled operations were found to require the use of the sewing machine, foot and electric power, the paint brush, the paste brush, and the needle, which last tool affects over one half of the women wage-earners in New York City.

Academic training is given as part of the trade instruction with the object of developing industrial intelligence, and such physical training is given as medical inspection shows to be necessary. "It was soon discovered that girls entering the school know arithmetic in an abstract way, but are at sea when asked to meet the ordinary trade problems. They are inaccurate in reading and copying, they cannot write a letter of application, conduct correspondence, make out checks, or keep simple accounts. They are ignorant of the laws already made which concern them, or of their own relation to future laws. They have no ideals in trade life.

They need to see the relation of their chosen trade to the country, their own work to their employer's success, the effect they may have in bringing about a better feeling between the employer and the wage earner. A practical, immediately available business education is absolutely essential to make workwomen of executive ability. Therefore specific instruction in arithmetic, English, history, geography, and civics was planned to supplement and enrich the trade courses."

The school authorities believe that the question of health is of supreme importance and that many New York girls are handicapped by poor physical condition. Each girl entering the school is studied individually, and the treatment she needs prescribed for her. Though this takes many hours a week from the department work, it is felt that the gain in health, physique, and power to stand the strain of the workroom more than compensates. Regular gymnastic practice forms part of the regular work, and particular attention is paid to the eyes, ears, nose, throat, and feet. Talks on hygiene aim to give the girl the knowledge to keep herself in perfect physical condition.

The product of the three departments falls into three grades: (1) practice work, which not being up to the standard is ripped up and used again; (2) seconds — fair work, not quite up to the school standard for trade work (this is sold to students at cost or to needy institutions); (3) trade work up to the regular commercial standard (this is sold to the trade or to private customers at regular market prices). This feature of the school work, entailing as it does the handling of money, varieties of orders from outside factories, workrooms, and private customers, is considered a valuable feature. The school is constantly urged by the trade

to increase its order work, but it has adhered to its original policy of taking only the amount needed for educational purposes.

The success of a trade school depends very largely upon the disposal of the students after graduation. Can they find positions and can they make good in these positions are vital questions, and if the answer to either is in the negative, the school cannot justify its existence. From the initiation of this school attention has been paid to the placement of the girl. At first the heads of the different departments attended to it, but as the school grew, other methods had to be adopted. An arrangement was made with the Alliance Employment Bureau to place the girls when they were ready to leave the school. This was only a temporary arrangement until the volume of business was great enough to warrant the opening of a bureau in the school itself, which was done in October, 1908, when a placement secretary was engaged. This bureau serves as a means of connection and communication between the school and the trades on the one hand, and the school and its former pupils on the other. It also assists in a material way in gathering data about trade conditions which are helpful to the several departments in their conduct of work, and in deciding school policies. The information gained by it prevents the school from wandering into all kinds of by-paths, which are not of direct value to girls who must become wage-earners. Criticisms from employers as to the way in which the girls are trained, and reports from the girls themselves as to weak places in their preparation are of the greatest value in keeping the school up to trade requirements.

The work of the placement department proceeds along four main lines : interviews with girls and employers, trade visits

of investigation, following up in keeping track of the girls after they are placed, and the keeping of various records regarding the girls and their employment. Each girl is entitled to one position from the school without fee, and such position is supposed to be held two months to count as one placement. After the first placement the fee is twenty-five cents down, and twenty-five cents when the position has been held two weeks. No fee is charged to employers.

In placing a girl, the secretary gives her (a) a letter introducing her to an employer and (b) a blank form on which she is asked to report at once to the secretary whether or not she has taken the position, and again at the end of the week, stating what wages she is receiving. If the girl is under sixteen years of age, the letter to the employer calls his attention to an extract from the labor law stating the time and the number of hours which fourteen to sixteen year old girls are permitted to work. The girl is given a list of instructions as follows :

“The Manhattan Trade School requires no fee for placing you.

It intends to see that you get as fair a chance to earn and to learn as your trade offers and your ability permits.

In return it asks you two things :

1. In case your position proves unsatisfactory
Do not ‘walk out.’ Instead, report your complaint to us and wait for our reply before leaving.
After receiving that reply you are entirely free to follow its advice or not as you see fit.
2. Prompt reports.
 - (a) A postal on the day you are sent to a place, saying whether or not you have taken the position.
 - (b) A postal one week later reporting hours, wage, and general conditions.
 - (c) If ‘laid off’ (no matter what the reason), report to us immediately ; in person if possible ; by mail if not.
 - (d) Prompt return fully filled out of any blanks sent to you.

A failure to comply with these requirements means loss of opportunity for you, with great inconvenience to us, and if persisted in, results finally in an inability on our part to assist you as we would like to do."

After the girl has been successfully placed, she is carefully followed up. Most good occupations for girls are seasonal, and the frequent "lay-offs" caused thereby make it almost impossible for a young girl to adjust herself to industrial conditions without assistance. This assistance the school stands ready to give for as long as the girl needs it, or until she is firmly established in her trade, and has gained sufficient maturity and experience to take entire care of herself.

During the year 1914-15 nine hundred and forty-two applications were received from employers requiring girls. By trades these applications were as follows:

Dressmaking.....	537
Millinery.....	34
Lamp shades.....	38
Sample mounting.....	11
Novelty.....	38
Clothing operating.....	176
Straw operating.....	22
Miscellaneous.....	64
Art.....	4

A large number of girls who go to work at fourteen years of age are in actual need of the wages paid, and early in its history the school found that if it was to get the girls to attend for training, some kind of aid was necessary. At first this aid took the form of a scholarship paid at the school every week in equal amounts to each student. Then a month's apprenticeship without pay was required, and the girl given a dollar a week during her second month. This amount was increased each month according to the skill

and spirit shown in the work. The maximum amount a student could receive in one year was one hundred dollars. Later a further change was made, and a plan developed whereby the need of the girls became the only basis upon which money was given. No girl is ever permitted to leave the school because of poverty if she has aptitude for her work. A student aid fund is now provided by the Manhattan Trade School Board, so that all girls who are too poor to attend without financial help may continue in the school until their training is complete. During the year 1914-15 one hundred and forty-five girls were aided by this fund, the amount ranging from car fare to the approximate wage which the girl would earn in an unskilled job if she were obliged to go to work.

In 1910 the school was incorporated into the New York public school system, and became a free public school. Though the school has now been removed from private control, its founders, who were the pioneers for the entire country in making trade training possible for young girl wage-earners, have not lessened their interest, and are still giving financial assistance in certain phases of the work which are not as yet supported by public funds. Ever since the school was taken over by the city, the Manhattan Trade School Board has paid the salary of a physician to make physical examination of all trade school girls; has contributed from five thousand dollars to seven thousand dollars yearly to maintain the student aid fund; has given the equipment for the sale room; has loaned free of charge about four thousand dollars' worth of equipment used in the trade departments, and has assisted in supporting several new experiments besides giving much of the personal time and attention of its members towards promoting the work of the school.

The trades now taught in the school are as follows: dress-making, millinery, clothing machine operating, straw machine operating, embroidery machine operating, sample mounting, novelty case making, lamp-shade making, French edge making, and cooking. Each trade course requires one year except that in millinery. A short course in lamp-shade and candle-shade making is included, as the seasons in millinery are short, and the girls who learn both trades can secure steadier employment.

Most girls who apply for admission to the school have their minds definitely fixed upon learning a certain trade, but frequently they choose a line of work which they are not able to pursue, and as there is still a very general feeling on the part of elementary school principals and teachers that the trade school is a refuge for their dullest girls, a probationary period of five months is now provided, after which girls who prove unfit may be excluded from the school. It is found that a large number of girls who imagine they wish to learn a trade, find the immediate wage return offered by an unskilled job too tempting to be resisted, and so drop out of school before the end of the probationary period.

Like many other features of the school, the plan of certification is unique. The requirements for a certificate or diploma are as follows: (1) a minimum attendance of two hundred days at the school, comprising 1400 hours of instruction; (2) completion of the regular course in any given trade with a satisfactory report from the employer. If a girl's school record is not entirely satisfactory when she is placed in a position, a longer period in trade is required before she is given her certificate, or if her employer's report for the first three months is not acceptable, she is allowed to try again, and as soon as her employer is willing to report her satisfac-

tory, she is eligible for her diploma. It will thus be seen that the trade school diplomas differ from other diplomas as they certify not only to the school accomplishment, but also to the ability to use that accomplishment in trade and practical life which should be the final test of the work of any school.

At the opening of the school September 14, 1914, there were 461 girls in attendance who had started their trade courses during the previous year. The new admissions during the year 1914-15 were 1196. The average enrolment for the year was 659 and the average attendance 610, being ninety per cent of the total enrolment. The ages of the girls admitted during the year were as follows: eight per cent below fourteen (all graduates of the elementary schools); forty-one per cent between fourteen and fifteen; thirty per cent between fifteen and sixteen; sixteen per cent between sixteen and seventeen; five per cent over seventeen. Like all trade schools that have yet been established, Manhattan finds the question of withdrawals a very serious one. The following table gives details concerning this feature of the work of the school:

386 completed their course and were placed.

79 came for trade tests only, and left as soon as the tests were completed.

313 left to go to work without completing their courses.

57 left because of illness.

49 left to return to other public schools or to enter business schools.

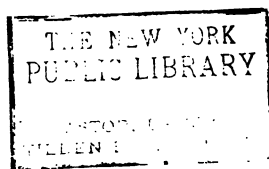
27 moved from the city.

40 were dropped for inability or inefficiency.

60 left because they were needed at home.

60 left for miscellaneous or undetermined reasons.

Of those who dropped out without completing their courses the majority did so during the first six months.





OPERATING DEPARTMENT.

Courtesy of Manhattan Trade School for Girls.

272 remained less than one month (79 of these came for trade tests only).

179 remained more than one and less than three months.

128 remained more than three months and less than six months.

106 remained more than six months and less than one year.

Of these it may be said that a considerable number tried the trade school as a means of last resort, and would probably never have entered at all, if a satisfactory system of vocational guidance and prevocational training had been established in the elementary schools. A number of them dropped out to work temporarily, and returned to the school later to complete their courses.

The character of the instruction is largely individual. The classes are so arranged that girls may enter at any time, complete the work of each grade as rapidly as their abilities will permit, and pass on to the next. In each trade the work is divided into steps leading from simple beginnings to the more complex, and the pupils advance from table to table, from room to room, or from machine to machine, in accordance with their own efforts. Each table, room, or machine has its special tasks to which a certain time allotment is given, so that girls who cannot accomplish the allotted tasks in the assigned time soon recognize that they will be more than a year in completing the course. Those who do the work of each step in less than the allotted time are given credit for such time as they save, and may therefore complete the course in less than a year. Certain definite standards are also set, which if a girl does not reach she is kept back and expected to repeat the work; and if the results of her efforts show no fitness for the trade, she is urged to choose some other. The fullest records of each girl's work are kept, from the day she enters the school, and these results are used in placing girls and deciding for what positions they are best fitted.

Many of the problems mentioned in connection with Manhattan are common to all trade schools, but this school has done a national service in showing how they can be solved. There are two problems that have not yet been dealt with — the kind of teacher required and the disposal of the product. These will now be considered.

The teacher. The question of the teacher is one on which the success of the trade school very largely depends, but in this country we have an unfortunate habit of placing the cart before the horse, and developing our machinery in advance of our men; we build our battleships before we have officers to command them, and very often we establish trade schools before we know either the kind of teachers we need, or where they are to be obtained. There is not the slightest doubt that the demand for teachers is bringing in many of the unfit, and positions in such schools are quite commonly filled by persons with more enthusiasm than knowledge of the business, as well as by inefficient persons from other occupations who seek an asylum in the service of the schools. The National Commission on Vocational Education believes "that the development of vocational education along right lines both for agriculture and the trades will depend largely upon the ability to secure and maintain well-trained teachers who have a thorough and practical knowledge of their subjects."¹

Communities are inclined to mistake an elaborate building with a high-sounding name for an educational idea. In this case we have made the error of trying to create in ready-made fashion our special schools. We first construct a pretentious building and gratify local pride by calling it "the finest

¹ Report of Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education, Vol. 1. Washington.

technical school on this continent "; we select a principal who has made himself popular through lodge, politics, society, or church ; we select teachers from the local corps with little thought of fitness for special work, and we admit all and sundry to the new building without any selection on the basis of vocational fitness.

Up to the present three kinds of teachers have been used in connection with trade instruction :

1. The professionally trained teacher, who has been trained in a normal school or college in the science of educational pedagogy with no special reference to industry and generally with no knowledge of trade.

2. The one who has served her time to a trade in all kinds of shops, and knows thoroughly the conditions and requirements of industry, but who has little or no knowledge of how to manage classes, or how to impart instruction.

3. The one who combines in some measure the qualifications of both the above classes.

The trained public school teacher cannot teach trades by being given a short training in trade processes, for that short training cannot possibly give her adequate knowledge of business requirements and workshop conditions, such as wages paid, opportunities to rise, slack seasons, sanitary and moral conditions connected with each occupation, and labor problems generally, which is absolutely essential in order that she may become a successful trade teacher. Moreover, she is apt to be "academically predisposed" and largely unable to treat the required subjects in any but the traditional educational method.

On the other hand, it is equally true that the trade worker who has industrial experience alone cannot make a successful teacher. Her viewpoint of the training required is

were supplemented with greater knowledge of industry it is believed that she would be more successful in handling the A B C's of trade instruction than the worker from the trade.

Looking at the question from all points of view, it seems to be the inevitable conclusion that the teacher has an equipment for vocational training that we cannot afford to ignore. Experiments are now being successfully conducted by Simmons College in coöperation with the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of Boston in supplying the defects of the teachers along trade lines, by giving trained teachers an actual experience of several months in trade workrooms so that they may understand more clearly the demands that are likely to be made upon their pupils by practical industry. Courses of this character do not, and should not, try to make trade workers of the teachers, but should aim to give a general knowledge of the methods and conditions of the shops and trades their pupils are likely to enter.

On the other hand, the trade worker, in most instances, will have to be taught how to teach. The trade teacher does not readily recognize the school character of the shop any more than the teacher recognizes the shop character of the school. The trade teacher fails in many ways to understand the educational problems involved. She knows whether the work is good or bad, but she rarely knows how to criticize it, or how it may be improved. She is apt to handle the girl just as she would in trade. She discovers which girl can do a piece of work best and keeps her at it, because in this way she can secure the most remunerative results. All her life she has been trained to use the girl in the workroom in such a way as to make the most money for her employer, and it is difficult for her to change her point of view, and to realize

that the commercial element in school work is merely a means to an end, and that the producer must come first, and the product second, in her consideration.

One source of assistant teachers is former students of the schools who have made good in trade. European trade schools for girls have obtained many of their best teachers from among former students, and have organized teachers' training classes for the purpose of instructing them how to teach. Every trade school should hold weekly conferences of all its teachers for the purpose of discussing specific problems, and for the analysis of the instruction required for the different processes in each trade. Method in academic education has been organized to death, but method in industrial training has hardly yet been born. Most industries can be split up into elements, and when properly analyzed, a satisfactory method of teaching these elements may be evolved. In the working out of such analyses weekly conferences of the teachers and the trade workers will be found to be most useful.

The report of the National Commission on Federal Aid to Vocational Education recognizes the importance of this question and has recommended that there be appropriated for the training of teachers of agricultural, trade and industrial, and home economics subjects the sum of \$500,000 for the fiscal year 1915-16; \$700,000 for the fiscal year 1916-17; \$900,000 for the fiscal year 1917-18; \$1,000,000 for the fiscal year 1918-19 and annually thereafter.

When these sinews of war are available for the purpose, classes and courses will be established for the training of teachers in the requirements of trade, and trade workers in the art of teaching. The Commission also recognizes that trade experts are generally earning better salaries than those

paid in the schools, and are recommending substantial grants in aid of salaries in order that the most competent may be attracted to the field of vocational teaching.

Disposal of the product. In the practical operation of the various trade schools for girls that have so far been established, no question has aroused greater controversy than that of the disposal of the product. If the training given is to be effective, that is, if it is to be applicable to industry, the work turned out must meet the conditions of the commercial world, and be such as would be able to compete successfully in the open market. The objections that have been urged against the practice of turning out a salable product are in the main as follows :

1. There is grave danger of exploiting pupils and of establishing a false aim for the school through too great a desire to make a good financial showing in attempting to make the school "pay its way."

2. Competing manufacturers will be antagonized by the invasion of a private market by a public corporation.

3. Organized labor will be similarly antagonized by the fear that the labor market may be overcrowded.

It is said that the aim in any school determines the content and the methods of instruction, and that if the aim is the production of material things the pupils in that school will be sacrificed to the production of the material. The success of several schools for girls such as those in Boston, New York, Milwaukee, and Worcester should be sufficient to disprove this argument. These schools from their inauguration have followed the practice of making a commercial product for sale, and the ideals of these schools are as high as those obtaining in many of the higher institutions of learning. The idea of creating a false aim is a relic of the old academic tradition

which believed in "education for education's sake" and did not admit that it had any connection with earning a livelihood. These schools cannot be made to pay if the term is used as ordinarily understood, and no sane advocate or director of trade schools ever attempts to make them do so.

Look at the conditions. The students are very largely — probably ninety per cent of them — unskilled workers and are there for the sole purpose of learning the trade. They must be advanced step by step from one process or set of principles to the next, and the moment they are able to apply those principles independently, they are sent out to give to some employer the benefit of the knowledge and skill they have acquired. Would any manufacturer attempt to run a business on such lines and expect it to return a profit in dollars and cents? There are two sides to these schools, the commercial and the educational, and any attempt to make the school pay would overemphasize the commercial side, and not be in the best interests of the students for whom the schools exist.

Manufacturers who know anything about the practical working of these schools have no fear of competition. Any intelligent manufacturer knows that a skilled mechanic can make an article in one tenth the time that he could teach a child to make it, and that therefore there is no profit in such a business. The Worcester Trade School says: "We have had more difficulty in keeping local manufacturers informed that we were in existence, than we have had in avoiding competition with them. The amount of work required in any community to keep a trade school supplied is not likely to be more than a single day's work in a year for the shops in the same trade."

The opposition of organized labor to this plan has been

very greatly magnified, and what opposition does exist is very largely due to ignorance of the present-day method of these schools, and some unfortunate experience in the past. With greater knowledge of present conditions the opposition may be expected to disappear. The terms "scab hatcheries" and "half-baked mechanics" formerly applied to boys' trade schools are now not often heard. The labor element requires that everything that is done shall be open to inspection at any time, and that a trade shall be thoroughly taught. At present they judge of the efficiency of a course almost entirely by its length. It should be the business of trade school advocates to show that, owing to systematic organization and investigation, the time necessary to learn a trade is considerably less than it formerly was, when it had to be picked up in a succession of shops.

There are of course difficulties in the way of selling the products of the trade schools, but whatever they are the difficulty of overcoming them is more than compensated for by the educational and industrial benefits to be derived by the adoption of the plan. The advantages may be summarized as follows:

1. The pupils are more easily interested in something of definite use. The average girl finds it difficult to interest herself in abstract exercises which are not to form part of a finished product. The principle of interest in education has long been accepted, and is at the basis of most educational theories and practical life. There is no reason why, in the new education, the principle should be abandoned.

2. There is the greatest value in the fact that the work is to be inspected by outsiders. The teacher, knowing the girl, and being human, is apt to excuse careless work because the girl was tired or deficient in some way, but the customer

expects value for her money. Her criticism is quite impersonal, and it does not matter to her what the condition of the girl was when the work was done. If the girl is working on things for herself, she is apt to say, "It will do" or "I don't care"; but for a commercial product this attitude will not suffice, as the goods must be kept up to a trade standard. Occasionally goods which have not been brought up to the highest standard are sold as "second quality goods." Generally speaking this is not wise, as the required standard is thus rendered more difficult of achievement.

3. Modern industry is such that two factors are of prime importance—speed and quality. Speeding up is one of the worst features of industry, and many will say that in school the girl should not be speeded. The speed meant, however, is not that kind of speed. The rush that makes a girl nervous and tired has no place in a trade school. Here speed is required to set a standard for the work. With a commercial product the work must be got out on time, and in this process the girl gets an idea of legitimate speed. This will mean a little of the scientific management that is becoming the watchword of industry—the elimination of lost motions. Speed introduces a healthy idea of rivalry and competition. One girl measures up against another. Any trade school which ignores the question of speed is depriving the girls of the opportunity of acquiring a valuable trade asset.

4. Even when the greatest economy is exercised, the expense of running these schools will necessarily be high. The rate-payers are entitled to as economical an administration as is consistent with the best training, and to allow girls to perform what might be useful operations on useless prod-

ucts seems so unreasonable that no one would consider it for a moment, were it not for the fancied opposition of capital and labor. Some will say why should not the girl furnish the material and keep the articles she makes, thus relieving the school of the expense; but the variety of material required to give the necessary training is too great to allow of this being done.

Method at the Manhattan Trade School for Girls. The discussion of this question may be concluded by a description of the method of dealing with the problem at the Manhattan school. The school does not regard the commercial aspect as an end in itself. No order is taken by the school unless it serves the educational requirements of a class, nor is any girl allowed to repeat processes merely for the sake of producing goods for sale. As approximately four fifths of the trade school program is devoted to trade practice, it is quite evident that a large amount of material is used. When the necessary principles and processes can be taught by allowing the girls to make articles for themselves, it is done, and one month of the year is spent in this way, so that the girl may have experience in purchasing materials, planning, cutting, designing, etc.

During the year 1914-15 the following articles were made by the trade departments:

Dressmaking — all grades, including children's clothing, underwear, plain and elaborate gowns.....	9,415
Electric power machine operating — all grades, including clothing and embroidery.....	9,909
Straw machine operating — all kinds of straw hats.....	6,240
Millinery — all grades, including the making of flowers and other trimming, frames, hats, etc.....	2,698
Pasting — including the making of lamp shades and novelty boxes.....	3,253
Total.....	31,515

The school has, by careful management, not only covered the cost of the materials used in the trade classes, but also the cost of all supplies for the academic, art, and physical classes, the cost of all repairs to machinery and equipment, and certain repairs to buildings, the cost of equipment in an annex (\$1200), and the cost of all new equipment needed for the school (\$1,766.44). In the lower grades where the work is elementary, and the girls are not proficient enough to make salable articles, the cost cannot be covered, but in the advanced classes, where the work can be sold at market prices, the gain above the cost of material is more than sufficient to make up for this loss. The income from sales from September, 1914, to July, 1915, was as follows:

DEPARTMENT	CREDIT FROM SALES AND STOCK ON HAND	COST OF MATERIALS	NET GAIN	Loss
Dressmaking	\$12,287.94	\$5,742.69	\$6,545.25	
Millinery	559.95	645.10		\$85.15
Pasting	1,157.35	516.27	641.08	
Machine operator	3,650.50	2,203.79	1,446.71	¹
Total	\$17,655.74	\$9,107.85	\$8,633.04	\$85.15

Owing to this feature of the school's work, the cost of the trade school can be estimated in salaries and maintenance of building alone. Space will not allow of a description of three other equally successful trade schools for girls, — Boston, Milwaukee, and Worcester, — but an examination of their methods of organization and management will repay careful study.

Part-time education. Schools of the type above described

¹ Seventeenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, New York.

for the education of girls are comparatively rare, but even if they were developed to the full, it is probable that they would under present social and economic conditions reach only a very small proportion of the girls who are at work between fourteen and eighteen years of age. The only prospect of further education beyond that which is now required by law for the mass of children at work is some form which will not preclude wage-earning at the same time. At this period of life the young worker is in the greatest need of guidance, instruction, and discipline, but she has been abandoned to the shop and the factory.

Part-time education for these girls is an economic necessity in order to realize upon the investment that has already been made in the elementary school. If once the child is lost sight of educationally at this period, it is difficult to induce her to "go to school" after a lapse of time. The educational chain should never be allowed to be broken. Various references have been made to solutions of the part-time problem in the chapter on the unskilled worker. There are four main purposes which may be served by part-time schools: first, trade extension for the "next step up" within a given industry. Unfortunately this purpose of part-time schools will not affect a large proportion of the children, for most of the industries in which they are engaged provide nothing but unskilled work, from which there is no step up. The second purpose is that of providing trade preparatory courses for those employed in these occupations, so that they may enter other and more desirable industries when they are of sufficient age. The third purpose is that of providing general improvement courses. There are many occupations in which promotion depends perhaps more upon general intelligence than upon any special mechanical skill or ability, and from

the viewpoint of the future welfare of the state as well as the benefit of the individual worker the general intelligence of the future voters should be raised. The fourth purpose should be the provision of home economics courses for those girls who are engaged in industry, until such time as they have to take charge of homes of their own.

This instruction should be given in the time of the employer. Of course, it may be said that there are evening schools which these young workers could attend, but expert medical opinion and the experience of social workers both agree that to force immature girls under sixteen years of age to attend evening schools after a long day's toil would result in more physical injury than educational benefit.

The National Commission proposes a grant from the federal treasury of five hundred thousand dollars (1915-16) increasing to three million dollars (1923-24) for the salaries of teachers of trade and industrial subjects and of these amounts it recommends that not less than one third be expended on part-time schools. Schools benefiting by this grant are required to provide at least 144 hours of classroom instruction, and the hope is expressed that by arrangements with the industries this amount of time may be considerably increased. This instruction is best given by allotting a certain number of hours a week during the school year but it may also be given during dull periods of seasonal trades. When a girl under sixteen is not at work in the industries or assisting at home, she should be in school.

The success of any plan of part-time instruction depends almost entirely upon the attitude of the employers. The instruction will have to be given during what is called the employer's time, and with no reduction in wages. The manufacturers have here an excellent opportunity of putting

to the proof their oft-declared interest in industrial education. It should not be a difficult matter to so organize the industrial force that sections of the juvenile workers might be allowed to attend school at different times. Many employers are willing to do this, but others are not, and in order that all may be on a business equality in this respect the attendance will have to be made compulsory.

Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston. A type of organization which has probably done more than any other single institution "to promote the educational, industrial, and social advancement of women" is that known as the "Women's Educational and Industrial Union" of Boston. This was founded in 1877 by a small group of earnest women who had large vision and great courage. At first through lunch rooms and food and handwork sales-rooms they sought to offer means of self-support to home workers. Through various committees they endeavored in every possible way to improve the condition of all women with whom they could establish connection. The original purpose still remains, but the Union is now a social-educational institution, broadly constructive and using the resources of scientific research and investigation in improving the condition of women. The Union employs three hundred workers and gives employment to about five hundred women as foodshop producers and handwork shop consigners. In April, 1877, there were forty-two charter members. In December, 1914, there were 4640 members. Even a general idea of the work of the Union cannot be obtained without an enumeration of the different departments now conducted. These are:

Appointment bureau. This is a department of vocational advice and appointment, and was the first bureau of this

character for women to be established in the United States. This department coöperates with many similar bureaus in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Richmond, and has the assistance of a chain of committees in many leading cities. In 1914, 514 placements were made and 489 women were vocationally advised. Various investigations are made, and the results published regarding vocations for women. Beginning September, 1914, a year's course to train vocational advisers was planned in coöperation with Simmons College, (1) to provide a knowledge of methods of industrial investigation and use of statistics, (2) to supply the necessary training in applied psychology, and (3) to afford a means for the practical application of principles and methods studied.

Department of research. The purpose of this department is to study industrial conditions affecting women and children; to train young women as investigators; and to publish the results of its studies for the betterment and protection of women workers throughout the state. Three fellowships of five hundred dollars each are maintained. Eight intensive studies have been published—some in coöperation with the United States Bureau of Education, Department of Commerce and Labor, and the Massachusetts State Board of Education.

School of salesmanship. This consists of a class for saleswomen from the Boston department stores, and a normal class for teachers of salesmanship. The class for saleswomen—established in 1905—is conducted in coöperation with eight department stores which send pupils to the school for a course of three months without loss of pay. Six hundred and twenty-two saleswomen have been trained in this school. Similar schools have been started by business firms with the Union's assistance, in various parts of the country. Thirty-

one graduates of the normal class now hold responsible positions as educational directors in mercantile establishments, or as vocational teachers in high and continuation schools.

Normal class of industrial needle arts. This is a course for training teachers for trade schools.

Vocational training to supplement college courses. These are offered by every department of the Union.

Lunch rooms. Two lunch rooms are conducted in different parts of the city. At one of these an average of nine hundred persons is served daily, at another five hundred. Over six thousand pupils are served daily in the Boston high schools. There is also conducted a salesroom with hot food a specialty, a bakery approved by the Consumers' League, an ice cream plant, and a summer tea house.

The food shop. Cakes, breads, pastries, jellies, preserves, and candy are made for the shop by women in their homes, or by the Union's own departments. All food is approved by a jury of experts, and the conditions under which it is made are inspected at frequent intervals by a physician regularly employed. The shop aims to help the inexperienced home worker by advice and practical illustration to attain a high standard in production, sanitation, and business management.

The handwork shop. This department is a permanent and beautiful exhibit of the best handwork of to-day, consisting of copper, brass, enamel, house furnishings, needlework, basketry, pottery, gowns, coats and hats for children's and infants' wear, etc.

Hat and gown shops. These are business shops prepared to fill orders promptly for distinctive gowns and hats. They were originally established to give trade school girls an opportunity to work under business conditions as a supplement

to their school training. They now serve as laboratories for industrial needle arts normal students.

Law and thrift department. This was organized originally to investigate and settle cases of working women's wages unfairly withheld. The department now gives legal advice of the most varied kind to men and women. During the year 1914-15 more than 469 legal aid cases were handled. In connection there is an industrial credit union, which is a co-operative association for the saving, investing, and lending of money.

There is also a social work department, the children's players, and a free reference library. It might be thought from the numerous activities mentioned that the Union is a commercial undertaking. The commercial features are only utilized as an aid to its social and educational work. The cost of the Union's educational and social service for the year 1913-14 was \$52,517. The industrial departments earned \$33,409, leaving \$19,108 to be met by membership fees and donations. Thus the industrial departments earned more than sixty-three per cent of the entire cost of the social-educational work of the Union.

CHAPTER XI

EVENING SCHOOLS

- I. Introduction.
- II. Attendance.
- III. Types of schools.
- IV. Essential features.
- V. Unit courses.
- VI. Efficient instruction a complex problem.
- VII. Summary of factors contributing to success.

Introduction. Evening schools are a form of continued education which has long been in existence, and probably there is no branch of our educational system that has yielded such poor results for the efforts that have been expended. These schools were the first result of the early nineteenth century movement for better educational opportunities for the working population, and later for increasing the efficiency of the workman. The first purpose of these schools was to continue and supplement, and sometimes to provide, elementary education for those who had not had, or who had neglected, early educational advantages. To-day they are looked upon as an essential part of any scheme of education — either industrial or academic — that aims to reach all the people.

In an ideal state of society evening classes would probably be unknown. They owe their existence to the present economic and social condition of the community which seems to be unavoidable. When we enjoy universal pros-

perity, and when the problem of earning a living does not absorb so much of our time and energy, educational opportunities will be open equally to all. After a hard day's work of eight, nine, or ten hours, neither mind nor body is in a fit state to undertake any further work, either intellectual or mechanical. This is generally admitted, and there is a tendency to prohibit, inferentially, attendance at evening classes for those who are under sixteen years of age by making it compulsory for such children to attend part-time classes during the day.

Attendance. Evening classes for men have not been generally successful in retaining for any lengthy period the boys and men they enrol, and the classes for women, except perhaps those in cookery, millinery, and dressmaking, have been no more successful. The attendance at evening schools is regarded by most authorities as unsatisfactory. The percentage of attendance varies, but as a general rule half the enrolled students complete about one half of the possible attendances. The variation is from twenty to sixty per cent according to local conditions and the character of the instruction. In the evening classes of the city of London (England) it is considered that forty thousand pupils out of 130,000 are ineffective. Their enrolment and subsequent withdrawals destroy classes wholesale, rendering useless the efforts and organizations provided for their instruction and spreading want of confidence among the staff as to the value of all or any effort. An examination of class registers shows even in the case of many classes which survive, that their personnel changes so much that class teaching becomes impossible, and good students therefore suffer and become indifferent.

Evening class work represents one continuous struggle

against poor attendance during the greater part of the session ; and thus energies which might otherwise be directed into purely educational channels are partially dissipated in the struggle with idle or indifferent students. It is a struggle to preserve the attendance at a satisfactory level, and thus keep the classes alive. It is this continuously anxious effort that makes evening school work so arduous and so dispiriting. The strain of anxiety as to falling attendance has driven many responsible teachers and assistants to spend too much time and care in the mere whipping up of laggard students, who possibly under better class conditions might need less incentive to good attendance and mental activity. It is quite possible that less solicitude for mere attendance and more attention paid to program of work, presentation of subject, and general class management might secure better attendance.

In 1847 six evening schools were opened in New York for the first time with a registration of 3224 pupils and the average attendance was only 1224. By 1850 this difference had not diminished, and the school authorities employed persons to visit the absentees to discover the causes of absence. But this plan accomplished little and it was abandoned. In 1865 the defects in the schools were carefully analyzed, in view of the fact that the numbers always declined after the first few weeks. It was found that too many young children were admitted whose presence kept young men and women away. Pupils were also admitted who were attending the day school. In 1866 registration began a week in advance, no boys under fourteen and no girls under twelve years of age were admitted, a responsible person was required to accompany and vouch for all applicants and other improvements were made. Yet notwith-

standing this, in 1887 the registration was 20,645 and the average attendance 6796. In 1910-11 the total number of men and women registered was 111,996 while the average attendance was 41,207. Of the 83,145 registered in elementary schools 13,000 stayed a week or less. In 1912-13 forty-five per cent of the total attendance were women and girls.¹

Though the problem has persisted since the inauguration of evening schools and classes, it must not be thought that serious attempts have not been made to solve it. Many superintendents, inspectors, and other educational experts have devoted their best attention to the matter, and yet the problem baffles solution. It may be that the efforts have been too much concentrated, and in our desire for numbers we have ignored other vital factors. "Principals might well continue to consider the problem of attendance, not in terms of numbers or tenure, but by the indirect and more efficient method of a discussion of the best methods of teaching. It is a great mistake to seek the attendance of pupils on any basis, or by any method, except the simple and effective one of making the school experience so interesting and so valuable that the pupil must realize its worth."²

Types of schools. These may be classified as follows:

1. Schools for providing general education for those who lacked or neglected early opportunities, and for those who have the ambition to proceed to higher schools. The education given in this type of school is sometimes, but more often not, directly related to industry. Its purpose is general improvement and the development of civic and social intelligence — citizen making.

2. Trade preparatory schools intended for the develop-

¹ Van Kleeck, *Working Girls in Evening Schools*.

² Fifteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, New York.

ment of industrial intelligence, and to give some elementary ideas of different trade processes.

3. Trade extension courses, the aim of which is to give instruction which will enable the worker to advance in her chosen trade.

4. Various courses in cookery, dressmaking, millinery, etc., intended almost entirely for home use.

To these, perhaps, may be added a fifth class, "trade changing courses," the purpose of which would be to give instruction to those who are engaged in an uncongenial or low-paid occupation and wish to change. Unfortunately there is in many localities a regulation which prohibits the entry into trade courses of those who are not actually engaged in the trade.

Schools of the first two types should gradually disappear as systems of education become developed and the economic condition of society improves, but there will always be necessity for the third class, while industry is so organized that the ambitious worker cannot get the necessary instruction and knowledge while engaged in her daily labor. The National Commission restricts the aid it recommends to evening schools to those of this type.

Essential features. Evening schools have certain generally recognized defects. The recently new-born or perhaps re-born interest in industrial education has stimulated investigation and pointed the way to certain reorganizations and improvements which, in various localities, are now being put into effect. Let us consider some of the more prominent features that should be included in a well-organized scheme of evening schools.

Preliminary survey. It is now generally understood that to establish industrial schools of any kind without a pre-

liminary study, undertaken to discover the needs of the workers and the industries in which they are engaged, is to court failure from the beginning. This is particularly true of evening classes for women. When classes for women are proposed, it is generally assumed that there is an urgent demand for courses in cooking, dressmaking, and millinery, their traditional occupations. As far as definite training for wage earning is concerned these classes are not successful, and any girl who attends them expecting to get much assistance in the trades of millinery, dressmaking, or catering is apt to be disappointed. This question of the need of detailed surveys before the establishment of schools has been previously dealt with, but their need is perhaps more urgent in the case of evening schools than it is in the case of day schools.

Kind of teacher. If teachers with trade knowledge and experience are necessary in day schools, they are even more so in connection with evening schools, for there the students are mature, already engaged in the trade, and have generally enough knowledge to detect shallowness and lack of skill on the part of the teacher. The teacher employed should have an attractive personality, for this feature appeals more to women than to men, and the pupils are more apt to discontinue their attendance if they do not like a teacher. She must be acceptable also to the employers. The salary paid must be adequate. Many classes have proved unsuccessful, owing to the salary paid not being high enough to secure teachers of attractive personality and possessing the necessary skill and experience. Cheap labor is undesirable. Voluntary teachers are not generally satisfactory.

Aid of practical business men. Teachers and educational authorities are conservative, and frequently resent outside

aid and suggestions in regard to the organization and management of schools. Owing to this attitude, many schools have failed to secure the sympathy of the community, but if these evening schools are to achieve their full purpose, the aid of practical business men must be secured. There are many points where this aid is essential, but it is particularly valuable in selecting instructors, judging the suitability of the proposed courses, finding out the real needs of the industry and obtaining the assistance and cooperation of various organizations. This interest of the business man is generally best secured by means of an advisory board, and by giving the members of this board a certain official standing. Owing to their position on this board, they will not be likely to feel that they are "butting in." In the case of classes for women the board should be composed largely, if not entirely, of women. This plan of an advisory board is now being generally adopted, but controversy has arisen over the question as to whether it should have any executive capacity or not, but the general consensus of opinion seems to be that where the expenditure of public funds is concerned only the elected representatives of the people should have executive power. The advisory board, if composed of carefully selected persons with practical knowledge of the trades taught, can do its best work by offering advice and suggestion.

Business methods of advertising. Teachers have long rested under the imputation of not being good business men, and to some extent this imputation is perhaps warranted. In the establishment of classes business methods of advertisement should be used. When a manufacturer wishes to introduce a new product, he resorts to judicious advertising. The success of the department store has been due very largely to advertising, and the woman who goes to the evening school

goes to buy instruction just as surely as she goes to the department store to buy a dress. The school should be extensively advertised by placards and circulars widely distributed among prospective students. Some posters that have been used in the factory have contained a space at the end for the indorsement of the firm. The circular letter having the personal individual touch has been found of great service. The circulars should give simple, definite information and should be self-contained; that is, they should not require on the part of the student any further application in order to secure necessary information.

Addresses illustrated by the optical lantern have proved useful, and now that the moving picture show is found on almost every corner, why should not this be used? Pictures of various industries in actual operation, girls and women at work, the interiors of schools, posters and products of the schools might well be shown.

Use should also be made of the local press in the literary as well as the advertising columns. The editors of these papers will generally be pleased to insert well-written articles on the work the schools purpose to do, and will call attention to the schools in their editorial columns if asked to do so.

Organization and registration. On the night fixed for the opening all the organization should be complete. Each girl should previously have received a card stating the room she is to enter, the materials she is to bring, and the work she is to do. This, of course, means preliminary registration, which should include much more than merely taking the name and address. At this time as much as possible should be found out about the pupil, and the information made use of in placing her in a class best suited to her ability and her requirements. The majority of the students who

attend evening schools are a little hazy as to their needs and require expert guidance as to the course it is best for them to follow. If a card index system is used, and it has great advantages, such information as the following should be entered: name, address, age, occupation, name of firm by whom employed, previous education, experience in trade, and purpose in attending. This should be retained as a permanent record, and contain space for entering additional data such as character of work done in the school, reasons for leaving, changes of employment, effect of the school training upon wages received. Reliable data on this last point is urgently needed.

Admission qualifications. There is much difference of opinion as to what qualifications for admission should be imposed. The purpose for which the instruction is given will to some extent govern this. The age of admission to trade preparatory classes may be from fourteen to sixteen. In trade extension classes it may be placed as high as seventeen. This will probably mean that the pupil has had one year in the industry, and has a background of trade experience which will give her the ability to decide what she needs in order to progress in the industry. Admission to the classes should be restricted to the age set, and to those actually engaged in the industry. The students in each class should be as far as possible of the same average ability, both educationally and mechanically, in order that the self-respect of the student may not be wounded by having to appear more ignorant than her fellows. To an outsider this point may appear trivial, but those who have had to do with the practical working of these classes know how important it is. If there is a wide divergence in the ability of the students, the instruction has to be brought to the

level of the average. In this case it is too advanced for the dull student to understand, and too simple for the bright pupil to profit by, and so both cease their attendance.

Practical interest of employer. These classes cannot be successful unless the pupil receives some direct benefit from the instruction given, and in the eyes of the worker direct benefit means promotion, which again means an increase in her wages. It is here that the coöperation of the employer must be secured. If the employees are trained efficiently, the employer will soon recognize the value of the training. The needs of the employer should be studied, and frequent visits be paid to his plant by the authorities of the school. The employer should be notified whenever any of his employees register, and he should be kept informed as to their progress, and consulted as to their needs. But the employer also has his duties in connection with this matter. The average worker is not yet fully convinced that the employer advocates industrial training from any other than personal and selfish motives. It would not be wise to discuss here whether this opinion is, or is not, warranted. Whether warranted or not, it will not be removed until the employer shows something more than an academic interest. This he can do by giving preference in employment to students attending the school, by making attendance and progress a factor in promotion or increase of wages, by paying part or all of the fees when such are imposed, or by allowing the pupils the equivalent of the time they spend at the classes without loss of pay. If the employer does not see his way clear to do some of these things, then the classes will not be as successful as they ought to be, and the interest he professes in vocational training is questionable.

Character of equipment. The equipment must be satis-

factory. Equipping trade schools is generally looked upon as an expensive matter, and in this connection much money has been wasted. The possibility of some sympathetic manufacturers allowing sections of their shops to be used at night for the purpose of giving instruction deserves consideration. If the teacher of a class happens to be the foreman of a shop, this should not be a difficult matter to arrange. At any rate, whatever the plan adopted, the equipment must be ample for the needs of the students. The equipment of the ordinary day school for teaching the household arts is not at all suitable for teaching trade work. The equipment must be of the same character as that provided in the shops of the trade being taught in the school. Pupils cannot be retained if the equipment is not ample and suitable. A girl employed in the dressmaking trade entered a class in business English and bookkeeping, rather than the class in dressmaking, and when asked why, she said, "I knew more than the teacher, and I could never get at the machine. I had to sew everything by hand. I could get more done at home." A stock girl in a department store left the evening school because "she could run up two or three corset covers on the machine at home while she was making one at school by hand."¹

Regularity of attendance. The pupils should be required to attend regularly, and be given to understand at the commencement of the session that they will be expected to give satisfactory reasons for all absences or be dropped from the roll. Absence for three or four successive nights without satisfactory reasons being given should automatically remove the pupil's name from the register. The only reasons recognized should be sickness and having to work

¹ Van Kleeck, *Working Girls in Evening Schools*.

overtime. In the case of pupils having to come long distances a stormy night might be regarded as a valid excuse. The number in each class should be strictly limited. A shop instructor cannot teach satisfactorily more than fifteen, and the other classes should be limited to twenty. When the number of applications is too great to be accommodated, a waiting list sometimes steadies the attendance, though a waiting list in connection with a trade school is never a permanent feature; for if the girls cannot get what they want when they want it, they will go somewhere else, take the next best thing, or give up the idea altogether.

In many cases a deposit fee, returnable on making a certain percentage of the attendance, has been found to have a good effect. The problem of poor attendance is of such antiquity that we have fallen into the error of accepting it as a matter of course. The authorities look upon it as unavoidable, and to be accepted without question. This attitude has infected the students, and they have come to look upon it as their right to absent themselves whenever they please. When this attitude of the students can be removed, the attendance will improve. It will be far better to have small schools filled with earnest pupils than to attempt to give efficient instruction to a large number who are indifferent and only attend when they have "nothing else on."

Unit courses. One of the important things upon which the success of the school depends is the character of the course offered. Up to the present, this has had more to do with the comparative failure of evening schools than any other single cause. Courses have been organized to be completed in two or three years, mainly on the day school plan, while as a matter of fact there are few evening schools that

can hold their pupils for even one year of twenty-two weeks. In a course continuing for two years, the pupils only get in the first year the introductory work as it were, and become dissatisfied. They cannot look towards its completion. It is now recognized that the two- or three-year course of study applied to evening schools has been almost a complete failure as far as the large majority of pupils is concerned, and a radical change is gradually being brought about.

This change is the most far-reaching reform that has been made within recent years, with reference to the training of the industrial worker. It is the adoption of what are known as "unit courses."¹ These are short courses designed to teach a specific thing, and to teach it thoroughly. Each course does not attempt to cover much ground, but what ground is covered is covered well. By taking a sufficient number of unit courses a large amount of ground may be covered, while if the training has to be stopped, what has been learned is of immediate practical value, and is not merely introductory to something else to be taken next year or some time in the future.

The student who enters an evening class usually does so with a definite purpose, and for these the so-called general course logically and educationally arranged is not suitable, as the student has not usually the ability to select the parts that may be immediately useful and probably would not be allowed to do so if she had. The unit course teaches a definite thing that has been found by practical experience to be useful in the trade. It is drawn up by trade workers who know the needs of the trade, assisted by educationists

¹ "Short Unit Courses for Wage Earners," Bulletin No. 159. Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington.

who have had experience in arranging courses. It leaves out all extraneous matter and conserves the time of the pupil. How necessary it is to conserve this time and put it to the best use is seen when it is remembered that evening class instruction is maintained in many localities for only twenty weeks. For a majority of girls and women with home, church, and social duties, and the need for recreation, attendance for even three nights a week is a hardship and in many cases impossible. Suppose the pupil should continue for four years, the entire time would amount to only 480 hours or forty-eight working days of ten hours each. But in actual practice the time is much less than this, and in view of the fact that the schools do not hold their students, it is clearly absurd to organize the work in continuous courses almost the whole of which must be taken before much benefit can be received.

The short course recognizes this situation, and meets the difficulty of early withdrawal, by making the unit so small that the pupil will be able to complete it within the time the school can probably hold her, and by dealing with one specific thing in each course. The instruction is complete, as far as it goes, and therefore is much more effective. In addition to giving some specific knowledge, the short unit course tends to keep the pupil longer in school. Experience of these courses shows that the pupil is encouraged by the accomplishment of a definite piece of work, and is likely to return for the next course. The success of the unit course depends very largely upon the most careful grouping. Each member of the group must have the same need, and the content of the course is determined by the need of the group, and the requirements of the industry in which they are engaged. For instance, instead of a general course in

cookery, one unit course might consist of eight lessons in bread making for beginners, and another, five lessons in the same subject for the experienced housewife. The following scheme gives samples of unit courses as used in Rochester, New York.

DRESSMAKING AND PLAIN SEWING

Mending, patching, darning, remodeling, and renovating of wearing apparel	12 lessons
Household linens, sheets, pillow slips, hemming towels, damask hemming, marking and repairing linen	12 lessons
Plain sewing, aprons, undergarments	36 lessons
Shirt waists	12 lessons
Shirt waists, suits, and one-piece cotton dresses	24 lessons
Layettes (with home work)	12 lessons
Children's garments	24 lessons
Fancy neckwear, jabots, collars, berthas	12 lessons
Advanced dressmaking, fitting and making of waists, gowns, and coats	36 lessons
Buttonhole and eyelet making, sewing on buttons, hooks, and eyes	12 lessons
Power machine operating	12 lessons
Skirt making	24 lessons
Drafting system	36 lessons

MILLINERY

Drafting and blocking of buckram shapes	12 lessons
Covering and trimming of buckram frames	12 lessons
Making of buckles, cabochons, etc.	12 lessons
Ribbons, flowers, novelties, etc.	12 lessons
Wire frames, sewing braid, and trimming	24 lessons
Children's millinery	12 lessons
Renovating and remodeling old hats and trimmings	12 lessons

GENERAL HOMEMAKING

Household sanitation and chemistry	72 lessons
Public sanitation	12 lessons
Pure foods and pure food laws	12 lessons
Household appliances	36 lessons
Home nursing and care of children	12 lessons
Laundrying and house care	6 lessons

One great merit of the unit system is its flexibility ; it meets the needs of the student who requires help on some particular phase of her work, but who is not able, or does not wish, to take a complete course, and also of the person who wishes to take a complete course, as by taking units enough a course can be got as complete as one wishes. Any pupil can enter the course at the point of her greatest need, obtain the help she requires, and then withdraw if she wishes ; if she has other needs she has only to return and take up other courses. In short, it may be said that the unit course system is capable of such adaptation that it is calculated to meet the needs and requirements of all classes and groups of students and fulfill the various conditions imposed by the limitations of evening class instruction.

Efficient instruction a complex problem. The complexity of the problem of evening school education for girls and women is not yet thoroughly understood. The three great difficulties to be grappled with are those relating to diversity of occupation, low educational attainments, and hours of labor.

As early as 1858 the New York Board of Education called attention to the need of industrial education owing to the changing conditions of women's work.¹ In that year it was estimated that eighty thousand women were engaged in wage-earning occupations — mostly in factories in that city. The report of that year noted the fact that the invention and improvement of the sewing machine had thrown large numbers of females out of employment, and advocated the replacing of male clerks in retail stores by women and urged the necessity of training girls in evening schools for these occupations.

Variety of women's occupations. In the year 1910-11 an investigation was made by the Russell Sage Foundation into

¹ New York Board of Education, Annual Report, 1858, p. 189.

the condition of the girls and women attending the evening schools of New York City, and from the results of that investigation most of the following particulars are gathered. In the year the investigation ¹ was made, thirty-three public night schools were organized for women only, and forty-two others admitted both men and women. Nearly fifty thousand women, chiefly wage-earners, were enrolled in these classes, and the questions on the investigation cards issued were answered by 13,737 girls. Of these cards 13,141 were filled up accurately enough to be used for tabulation purposes. The girls who attend the evening schools come from office, factory, store, or home. They are engaged in a long and varied list of occupations with high skill required for a few, but with endless monotony, drudgery, low wages, and long hours characteristic of many.

Of the 13,141 girls who filled out the cards 4519 were employed in manufacturing, 4505 in trade and transportation, 193 in professional, and 520 in domestic and personal service. These are very broad divisions and really give no idea of the occupations in which the girls are engaged. This classification is based largely on the product. If the process were the basis, the number of occupations would be very much greater. The following table shows the occupations of the women who reported as being engaged in transportation and trade:

Stenographers and bookkeepers.....	1813	40.3%
Clerks and office workers.....	1745	38.9%
Employees in stores, including saleswomen, packers, cashiers, stockkeepers, messengers, etc.....	709	15.7%
Cashiers (other than in department stores).....	56	2.6%
Buyers, shoppers.....	36	.8%
Proofreaders, copyholders.....	13	.3%
Miscellaneous (collectors, agents, etc.).....	7	.2%

¹ Van Kleeck, *Working Girls in Evening Schools*.

The following table shows the principal occupations in mechanical and manufacturing pursuits ranked according to the number of women employed :

Dressmakers and seamstresses.
Tailoresses on men's and women's clothing, including vest makers.
Artificial flower and feather makers.
Milliners.
Embroidery and lace makers.
Bookbinders.
Paper box makers.
Makers of women's neckwear.
Tobacco and cigar factory operatives.
Confectioners.
Workers on knit goods.
Workers on silk goods.
Workers on hair goods.
Metal workers.
Shirt, collar, and cuff makers.

The information disclosed by this investigation shows that these evening school girls were employed in at least one process in all but three of the twelve large industrial groups listed by the New York State Department of Labor. From this, the conclusion is inevitable that if instruction is to touch the real problems of wage-earning women, much more must be done than to give lessons in sewing and cooking and those occupations in which women have been traditionally employed. It will also be seen that much investigation and experimentation is needed in order to develop courses of instruction which will meet the diverse needs of the various groups attending these schools, and it will probably be discovered that the system of unit courses will be the best method of giving the instruction required. As industry has been divided and subdivided, it is probable that instruction given to train for it will have to follow the same course.

Investigation of women's occupations. There is no subject,

perhaps, upon which the general public is more ignorant than of the occupations in which women are engaged. The first actual investigation of the trades in which women are occupied in an American city was made by Miss Butler,¹ and Pittsburgh, of all cities in the world, was chosen as the scene of that investigation — a city which not one in a thousand would have looked upon as one in which large numbers of women were engaged. Here women were found in food production, in the stogy industry, in the needle trades, sale work, telephone operating, and the cleaning industries, all of which perhaps may be looked upon as traditional women's industries, and do not cause much surprise. One would, however, hardly expect to find "women molding metals, shaping lamps, and making glass," "girl thread makers at the screw and bolt works," and women fashioning sand cores in foundries, and yet they are found in these, and in many other unusual occupations. What was done for the women of Pittsburgh by Miss Butler was done for the fifty million workers of the United States by the Department of Commerce and Labor. The results of that investigation, published in nineteen volumes, makes astounding revelations, and there scarcely seems to-day an industry in which women are not employed.

Lack of previous education. The results to be accomplished by evening schools depend to a very large extent on conditions outside the schools, over which they have no control. One of these conditions is the previous education the girls have received. It is the custom of the grade teachers in the elementary schools to complain of the lack of knowledge of her pupils, owing to the inefficiency of the instruction received in the previous grade, and much has to be discounted be-

¹ Butler, E. B., *Women and the Trades*.

cause of this professional attitude on the part of the teacher. In the case of evening schools, however, impartial investigation seems to show that there is an undoubted lack of previous education in the pupils attending, due probably to four causes: inadaptability of the course of study to the future occupation of the girls, limited amount of schooling, inefficiency of teaching, and dullness of pupils who left day school because unable to keep up to the class.

This lack of previous education is shown in an interesting way by the spelling used to fill up the cards issued in the investigation previously referred to. Here are a few samples: "ledes dresses," "papar bosces," "wilomaker" (willow maker), "toker" (tucker), "exzaning," "ladies' underware"; "operator" was spelled *aprether*, *apertergn*, *upraitter*, *apreter*, *apraider*, *aperater*, *apraider*, and *appairating*; "efrenret" (arithmetic); "grigofrie" (geography). One girl was employed in a "book bondary," another was employed in a "deportment store," and another called herself a "sail lady." While it is not wise, perhaps, to regard spelling as a test of general intelligence, and notwithstanding the fact that some learned men, even including university students and professors, cannot spell, yet a reasonable amount of accuracy in this respect may be fairly regarded as some measure of the previous education received. The facts disclosed show that, either a radical reform in elementary education is necessary, or that some part of the evening work will have to be devoted towards making up its deficiencies. This lack of the fundamentals of education is the universal experience of all those who have had to do with the organization of evening schools and is recognized as being one of the chief hindrances to their success.

Length of the working day. The third difficulty to be dealt

with, is the length of the working day, which makes it in all cases difficult, and in many cases impossible, to attend evening classes. Many labor conflicts have been fought on this point. Physiologists, scientists, and reformers have all pointed out the dangers to the commonwealth of forcing men and particularly women to work for an undue length of time. Fortunately there is a decided tendency, the world over, to shorten the working hours, and what justice and philanthropy has not been able to do, the law is now stepping in to accomplish. The opposition to the shortening of the working day is growing less and less, but, of course, there are still those who point to the "good old days" when women worked "from early morn till dewy eve," forgetting that two new factors — monotony and speed — are now dominating the majority of women's occupations.

In any discussion of this subject it must be remembered that attendance at evening classes represents the worker's use of her leisure time, when, as a matter of fact, rest and recreation are needed to prevent a loss of vitality, and, in many cases, a drop in the earnings of the next day. It may be said, of course, that a change of occupation is as good as a rest, but the untrained mind and the jaded body cannot appreciate this and craves complete rest or the stimulus of excitement. In addition to the actual length of time spent in the workroom, there must be added the time taken in getting to and from work. In large cities this is often a very serious item. Here is the way one girl, a floor hand in a petticoat factory, spent her time, and this case is typical of many others. Her actual hours of work were from 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. She left home at 7.10 A.M. In the mornings and evenings, she swept and dusted the workroom. During the day she ran errands in the factory, except during the half hour allowed for

lunch. She reached home for supper at 6.45 P.M., leaving for night school at 7.15. She returned home again at 10.15. Thus during four days in the week she had no leisure time between 7.10 A.M. and 10.15 P.M. In November she discontinued her attendance. Under conditions such as this it is almost criminal to expect a girl to attend evening classes.

Of 1049 girls sixty-two spent an hour or more in transit, and only eight spent less than half an hour in going to and from work. In work, transit, and evening school four days a week, some of these fourteen and fifteen year old girls spent not less than ten hours a day, only seven less than twelve, while ninety-five were away from home twelve to fifteen hours out of the twenty-four. Two others exceed even that number. These were all mere children, who from every point of view should have been engaged in recreation and healthful exercise. Many others beyond the age of sixteen have persisted in their attendance at evening schools, notwithstanding the excessive hours of labor. This is a situation generally recognized, and no useful purpose would be served by multiplying instances.

Overtime. It is not only the regular hours of work that make attendance difficult. After a pupil has enrolled and attended for several nights, she is liable to be called on for overtime work, and thereby be forced to discontinue her attendance altogether. In the report for 1912-13 of Dr. Albert Shiels, District Superintendent in charge of evening schools in New York City, the results of an inquiry made concerning the reasons for irregular attendance are given. In seven of the evening high schools 1362 pupils gave reasons for leaving before the close of the session, and of these 542, or nearly 40 per cent, stated that "night work including overtime" was responsible. In evening trade school the same reason

was given by 299 out of 1006. In evening elementary schools, in classes for foreigners, cards sent out to two hundred who had left, brought replies from 159, of whom 105 said they were working overtime. A group of pupils whose combined absences during the term had amounted to 865 evenings was questioned as to the reasons, and overtime work was given as the cause of absence on 324 of the 865 evenings.

It is gratifying to note that throughout the country there is a manifest tendency to reduce the hours of labor by legislative enactment, but in many of the laws being enacted too many exceptions are allowed, thus providing loopholes of escape for unscrupulous employers. It is one thing to place a law on the statute book and another to provide machinery for its adequate enforcement. In this latter particular many of our labor laws are defective.

Summary of factors contributing to success. In conclusion, the factors on which a thoroughly successful system of evening schools depends may be summarized as follows:

1. An elementary education of sufficient breadth and suitable content upon which to build the further instruction to be given in the evening schools.
2. An efficient system of part-time education for girls from 14 to 16 years of age until the compulsory age can be raised to 16 years.
3. Restricting the age of admission to evening schools to not less than seventeen years.
4. A business organization of publicity, in order that the classes may be brought to the attention of those for whom they are designed.
5. A course of study divided into short units so that each student may get what she immediately needs and can put to use.

6. Teachers of attractive personality and practical skill, who know the trade conditions that must be met by the pupils.

7. Such industrial conditions in the daily work of the students as will enable them to enter and continue the classes without undue fatigue of mind or body.

8. An efficient equipment in the schools that will give sufficient practice to all students.

9. Careful grouping of classes so that those of the same average ability, and having the same needs, may be taken together.

10. Consideration by the employer of the work done and skill acquired — in the way of increased wages, privileges, promotion, etc.

11. The management of the schools by an advisory committee of educationists, employers, and employees who will be competent to give advice on all that pertains to the welfare of the school and its pupils.

12. A " follow-up " committee which shall make it its business to follow the girls into industry, and to help them in all cases of emergency with advice, etc.

13. A vocational guidance department which shall give some measure of advice and assistance to girls selecting and changing employment.

14. Attention should be paid to the physical and recreational side of the life of the girl.

CHAPTER XII

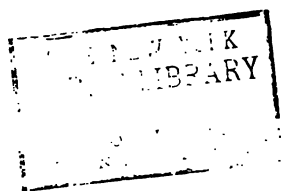
EDUCATION FOR OFFICE SERVICE

- I. Introduction.
- II. Little consideration given to the subject.
- III. Results judged by number of students.
- IV. Criticism of graduates by employers.
- V. Commercial education in elementary schools.
- VI. Commercial education in the high school.
- VII. Pupils leaving before completion of the course.
- VIII. Office work specialized.
- IX. Private business or commercial colleges.
- X. Evening commercial schools.

Introduction. The extent to which education for the various branches of that great industrial division "trade and transportation" has grown and its great importance to the industrial life of the community is little recognized. During the past fifty years women have appeared as a constantly growing factor in the commercial world. In 1870 there were twenty thousand women thus employed, forming only 1.1 per cent of the total number of women working for wages, but in 1910 there were 1,167,908 women employed in trade, transportation, and clerical occupations, which number formed 14.6 per cent of all the women gainfully employed in the United States. These women were employed mainly in two divisions — clerical occupations (593,224), mainly office service, and trade (468,088), mainly salesmanship. The following table shows the increase in the number of women



CLASS IN OFFICE PRACTICE, JULIA RICHMAN HIGH SCHOOL, NEW YORK.



employed in business in the United States from 1870 to 1910:

YEAR	TOTAL NUMBER GAINFULLY EMPLOYED	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE	NUMBER IN TRADE AND TRANSPORT	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE	NUMBER IN OFFICE SERVICE	PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE
1870	1,836,288		20,383		8,023	
1880	2,647,157	44.2	63,058	209.3	30,344	278.2
1890	3,914,571	47.9	228,421	262.2	113,261	272.0
1900	5,319,397	35.9	503,347	120.4	245,517	116.8
1910	8,075,772	51.8	1,167,908	132.2	573,135	133.4 ¹

From this table it will be readily seen that the percentage of increase is much greater than the percentage of increase in the total number of women employed.

The importance of commercial life may also be measured by the number of students in the various private and public commercial schools. The Commissioner of Education in his report for 1914 states the number of commercial students in public and private high schools and in private commercial colleges to be 346,770. But this number is admittedly incomplete, as only 704 out of the thirteen hundred commercial schools made returns. The Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education estimates that from fifty thousand to one hundred thousand students are not tabulated. Of course these figures do not include the now not inconsiderable numbers of children in grades seven and eight who are taking elementary commercial courses in prevocational and other schools. "Commercial pupils constitute at least one fourth of all high school pupils, ten times as many as there are agricultural students, five times as many as there are

¹ "The Public Schools and Women in Office Service." Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston.

students of domestic arts, and nearly twice as many as are found in all our educational institutions."

The numerical importance of the subject is perhaps better shown by reference to particular cities. Nine of the eleven Boston high schools in 1914 offered commercial courses. In these nine general high schools 5832 girls were enrolled in 1913, of whom 3699, or 63.4 per cent, elected one or more technical commercial subjects — phonography, typewriting, or bookkeeping. The proportion electing these subjects in the different schools varies according to the type of neighborhood. In the most congested districts more than eighty per cent elected commercial subjects, as compared with about fifty per cent in the suburbs.¹ In Chicago 31.5 per cent of the total number of students enrolled in the high schools elect a commercial course, and nineteen thousand pupils are enrolled in the forty or more commercial schools.²

Little consideration given to the subject. Though the subject is so important, even when considered from a numerical point of view alone, it has up to the present received little consideration. The air is full of surveys and investigations into almost every branch of our educational system, but commercial education has been left severely alone. Commercial education is of course vocational education, but the usual treatment of vocational education does not include commercial education within its scope. The present condition of commercial education throughout the country is due to a natural growth, and is not owing to any artificial stimulus. Few grants have been allotted to it, no active

¹ "Public Schools and Women in Office Service." Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston.

² "Vocational Training in Chicago and in Other Cities." City Club of Chicago.

propaganda has been engaged in, and little encouragement has been offered in many districts; yet notwithstanding this, it has progressed until it almost dominates the secondary school system, and is beginning to invade even the elementary schools of the country. Even the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education, while recommending grants for almost every other form of vocational education, leaves commercial education to look after itself as far as grants to schools and courses are concerned. The Commission says:¹ "Although there is a general feeling that the quality of commercial education might be improved, the reports from the country seem to show that there is no great scarcity of trained workers of this kind. The Commission believes that the National Government should give substantial encouragement through studies, investigations, and reports, which analyze conditions in commerce and commercial pursuits, and in this way furnish expert information for use in courses of instruction and methods of teaching commercial subjects."

Results judged by number of students. Owing to the absence of investigation and criticism of this particular branch of our educational system, it might fairly be concluded that commercial education is so efficient in meeting the needs of commercial industries that investigation and survey are not necessary. As a matter of fact we have been blinded by numbers. We are inclined to the opinion that if the classes are filled good and efficient work is certainly being done. We have mentally compared the comparatively small numbers attending industrial and technical schools with the large numbers taking commercial courses, and have concluded that all is well. This is generally the verdict of the schools

¹ Report of the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education, Washington.

to state the most striking defects, there was a most wonderful unanimity. Amongst these defects the following are given, deficient general education, poor penmanship, inability to figure easily and correctly. Two quotations may be given. "The most noticeable defects are bad penmanship and absolute ignorance of business methods. Apparently the high schools pay little, if any, attention to good penmanship, although in the matter of bookkeeping, card indexing, or record work of any description the ability to write a rapid, neat, and legible hand is a *sine qua non*. It is safe to say that at least seventy-five per cent of the students who graduate from Chicago high schools are indifferent penmen." Another writes, "With over twenty years actual experience in hiring pupils from the Chicago public schools, I would say that two of the greatest defects with which we have to contend in this class of employee is the miserable penmanship, and lack of ordinary arithmetic." With reference to arithmetic another employer writes that it is not so much lack of knowledge as the lack of knowing how to apply this knowledge. After reading through many pages of such criticism as the above, and consulting with many employers, one comes to the conclusion that it is not lack of business knowledge but lack of elementary training that is complained of. The business men can hardly expect the graduates of the schools to be experts, but they have a right to expect that those whom they take into their employ shall have a thorough grounding in writing, English, and arithmetic. Given this, many of them say that they can soon "lick into shape" any "green" girl who comes into their offices.

The Cleveland Girls' Bureau inserted an advertisement forty-two times in the local papers.¹ In answer to this 427

¹ Eaton and Stevens, *Commercial Work and Training for Girls*.

replies were received — ten applicants for one place. The following are two of the letters received in reply :

CLEVELAND, O

11/24/13

DEAR SIR OR MADAM

I am a grad of Hodge School at the year of 1911. I am also a grad of the Ohio Business College that is of Bookkeeping and I am nearly through sten about a month more. I am 18 yrs old and have had one months experience.

Yours truly

(Signed) Miss A.....

CLEVELAND, O, Oct 17, 1913

DEAR SIR

In reference to your want ad in the Press, I am eighteen years old and a graduate of the Edminster Business College 3028 W 25th Street having completed a full coarse of bookkeeping and stenography. Have had no experience yet and am there for unable to say just what I am worth. Hoping to receive your favorable reply, I remain

Yours truly

(Signed) Miss M.... M....

These letters are by no means exceptional.

Lack of personality. In addition to the lack of elementary knowledge complained of by nearly all the employers, and the lack of knowledge of office requirements complained of by many, serious fault is found with the personality of the girls who seek employment. "Not thorough in anything," "lack of intelligence," "poor training and deportment," "as to deportment, good manners, and polite address these seem to be entirely forgotten and even tabooed," "too busy with chewing gum and the powder puff" are some of the criticisms made in this respect. Even in those schools, and they are many, that have developed successful and efficient courses, this feature has not been considered as coming within the scope of legitimate instruction; yet if the girls are

to be successful, this demand of business men for an attractive personality cannot be ignored.

The term "attractive personality" is difficult of definition. It does not mean good looks. It is a broad term covering personal appearance, polite manners, appropriate dress, correct attitude towards the work of the office and fellow workers, and many other things. One employer defined an efficient stenographer as "one with adequate technical training, a knowledge of appropriate business dress, and a serious appreciation of the confidential character of her work."¹ It should be the business of the schools to give instruction on these points, intangible though some of them are; for many a girl after obtaining a position has lost it through inattention to some detail entirely unconnected with her technical ability. That such training is necessary is shown by the fact that the Kansas Civil Service Commission announces that in the examinations for employment under that body thirty points will be given for personal appearance and demeanor. Stenography, typewriting, grammar, spelling, and penmanship count for the remaining seventy.

These criticisms offered by business men probably have a great measure of truth in them, but in order to show that they are made in good faith, business men must do something more than find fault with the schools; they must actually take part in the training the schools offer. If the schools are to be improved, business men must aid in the process. From the point of view of commercial education, business is something more than business, and the schools have many functions other than those that were formerly supposed to attach to them. Neither can succeed without the closest

¹ "The Public Schools and Women in Office Service." Women's Educational and Industrial Union, Boston.

connection. The schools must become business institutions and the business institutions must become schools.

Commercial education in elementary schools. Perhaps it seems somewhat ridiculous to talk about commercial education in elementary schools, but on closer scrutiny it will be seen that it is here that a beginning must be made. Of course it is but a truism to say that all vocational education depends upon the foundation that is laid in the primary schools, but trite as it is, it needs repeating again and again until its importance is recognized. True as the statement is in regard to vocational education in general, it has special application to commercial education. No matter what the special technical qualifications of a girl in office service may be, unless the arithmetic, spelling, and English are satisfactory no position can be retained.

Some instruction of real worth can be given in the prevocational schools, and differentiated courses are now being organized for grades seven and eight. Such courses are being tried out in New York and many other centers where the course of study is being adapted for children — largely girls — intending to enter business life. In New York¹ those taking this course are required to attend school one hour longer a day than those taking the regular school course. This plan might be followed with decided advantage in all seventh and eighth grade classes, since in this way not only would more work be done, but also the transition between school and industry would be less abrupt. The object of these courses is to afford the pupils an opportunity to understand the simpler business transactions, and to give them the ability to perform the routine work of the ordinary office. A joint committee of the Chicago Association of Commerce

¹ Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1914. New York.

and the Chicago Board of Education, in a report made in 1913, strongly urged that prevocational training should begin in the seventh and eighth grades. They recommended that it should consist partly of "a narrow intensive drill on speed and accuracy in handling figures, spelling the vocabulary of business letters, simple punctuation, and correct English expression as the necessary fundamental education, without which even an office boy cannot hope to attain future usefulness."¹

The courses that are being organized are not for the purpose of making efficient stenographers, typewriters, or bookkeepers, as the immaturity of the pupils would render this impossible. Their purpose is to lay a good foundation, to give the pupils some ideals of service, some knowledge of the requirements of the office, to inspire with some ambition, and then to advise them to continue their education and practice in the evening schools, so as to be ready to accept more responsible positions when their age and ability will warrant them so doing. The position of the girl entering industry directly from the elementary school is not an enviable one, and while the girl entering commercial life is, perhaps, in a better position than the one entering the factory, yet she is much less to be envied than those who have received higher education. As the course in the seventh and eighth grades, specially designed for commercial work, becomes further developed, it may be that the criticisms now made of the elementary school graduate will disappear, and that when special attention is given to the graduates so trained, the minor positions in offices may be satisfactorily filled by young girls until they gain experience and knowledge to fit them for

¹ Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1915. Bureau of Education, Washington.

the higher positions. Many business men would prefer the girls to grow up in their own offices, if they could obtain them with adequate elementary training.

The conclusions arrived at in the Cleveland survey are not peculiar to that city. Investigations made in Chicago and Boston reach practically the same conclusions.

Previous education determines position in the office. The Girls' Bureau of Cleveland obtained records from 428 office girls, which number is divided into three classes: the grade school, including those whose preparation is eighth grade or less; the partial high school, which includes those who have spent some time in the high school, but have not graduated; and the high school graduate. From an analysis of these records the following conclusions are drawn:

1. Children from the elementary school form the large majority of those getting the smallest wage.

2. Of those receiving no advance after two years' experience, grade school children are in the large majority. They do not even appear in a comparison of workers receiving an advance of four dollars or more in the same length of time.

3. Grade school children change about in office positions much more frequently than the other classes.

4. Grade school children include nearly one half of all those who abandon office work for other vocations, and in factory work, which represents the greatest retrogression in the scale of employment, they reach by far the highest percentage.¹

As a matter of fact business offices are clogged with unfit girls. At fourteen or fifteen years of age, a girl with inadequate training and an abridged English education goes into a business office to earn five or six dollars a week. Of course,

¹ Eaton and Stevens, *Commercial Work and Training for Girls*.

she is unable to punctuate, spell, or type correctly. For several years she drifts from one job to another, never well paid, never promoted. She is the despair of her employer and becomes discouraged, bitter, or indifferent.

What the elementary schools can do. In closing this section of the discussion let us summarize the work the elementary schools can and ought to do.

1. Thorough training should be given in spelling, arithmetic, and English in the lower grades. It is not so much the amount of work done in these grades that counts, as it is the thoroughness with which it is done. This recommendation may seem to some to be going back to the days of the "three R's," but while not at all advocating this, a prolonged experience convinces me that the basis of most of our educational troubles lies in the fact that the elementary work is not satisfactorily done. The average teacher is satisfied if she has "covered" the course as laid down in the official syllabus, but this is not enough. It must be done in such a way that it will never be necessary to do it again. In this connection it should be said that the course of study is at fault. It deals generally with too many side issues, and before it can be covered *satisfactorily* it must be pruned to essentials.

2. Courses must be more generally provided for grades seven and eight, having for their object the laying of a definite foundation for office work. The work here should be done, in the last year at any rate, under conditions which approximate closely to those of real business. The conditions to be faced should be clearly pointed out, the limitations of the training given be emphasized, and the pupils encouraged in every possible way towards further education, the financial advantages of which should be clearly shown.

3. No girl should be allowed to enter an office at fourteen or fifteen years of age and then be lost sight of. Every educational department should have an efficient vocational staff whose duty it should be to keep in touch with the girl until she is satisfactorily placed in a position where she can earn a living wage and at the same time have opportunity to progress. There might well be a law to require the parent or employer to report to the school authorities every change of occupation until the child has reached the age of at least sixteen.

Commercial education in the high school. It has already been said that commercial education was the first concession the schools made to the demand for a practical connection between school and business. Inspired by the success of the "business colleges" and the demand they created, the public high school first tacked on to the regular academic courses an occasional course in bookkeeping, shorthand, or typewriting. Two, three, four, and occasionally five-year courses have all appeared in the history of commercial education, and two-year courses are again being introduced, with the idea that they will be able to compete with the private business college so called, but, notwithstanding all that the public high schools have done and are doing, the private institution still dominates the field. In Cleveland, for instance, the public schools are educating approximately only ten per cent of the boys and girls entering day commercial schools and courses in that city in a given year. The remaining ninety per cent are patronizing private, parochial, or philanthropic institutions.¹ In Chicago in 1909-10 there were 5236 children in the public high school commercial courses and nineteen thousand (estimated) were in the private

¹ Eaton and Stevens, *Commercial Work and Training for Girls*.

colleges.¹ Other cities show much the same results, but with the establishment of improved courses in academic high schools, and the organization of special commercial high schools, this lead is being gradually reduced, and the private colleges are being forced to rely on the elementary schools for their students.

Development of commercial courses in Boston. The character and development of commercial courses may perhaps be best shown by a description of the method of procedure in Boston, which might fairly be called the city of educational experiment.² In 1897 and 1898 commercial courses were introduced into the day high schools, and offered to all boys and girls who wished to take them. Special instructors were engaged for bookkeeping, stenography, and typewriting. These courses were two years in length and provided a bewildering array of subjects. In the first year the following were required: English language and literature, ancient history, phonography, penmanship, commercial forms, commercial arithmetic and bookkeeping, botany, drawing, music, and physical training. The second-year subjects were English language and literature, medieval history, modern history, phonography and typewriting, elements of mercantile law, bookkeeping, commercial geography, zoölogy, physiology and hygiene, drawing, music, and physical training. Two high schools reported 117 students (of whom seventeen were boys) taking the course out of a total of 1635 students. This number does not include schools in which the number of pupils was less than fifty. In October,

¹ "Vocational Training in Chicago and Other Cities." City Club of Chicago.

² "The Public Schools and Women in Office Service." Women's Educational Industrial Union, Boston.

1899, stenography and typewriting were reported in seven Boston high schools. Other cities introduced a longer course of training, ranging from three to four years.

One of the agents of the Massachusetts Board of Education in his report for 1898-99 states his belief that the three-year course is best, and that the fourth year would be more profitably spent in actual business employment than in the schools. Three- and four-year courses remained until 1908, when the course was made four years in length. In 1911 the pendulum swung again and an attempt was made to return to a two-year course of study; and an "intensified clerical course" was introduced into one of the high schools, one of the avowed purposes of which was to compete with the best business colleges. A large number of girls flocked into the course, but only twenty-five seem to have been on the roll in 1913. Twelve came directly from the elementary school, six had been one year, and four two years in the high school, previous to taking the commercial course. Three attended the course for one year and then went to work. The two-year course is still retained in one or two schools for girls who can spend only a short time in school. These courses may be completed in even less than two years if satisfactory work is done. The instruction is mainly in stenography and book-keeping. Practical office work is offered to these girls as clerical assistants in the offices of the grammar schools, and this practical application of classroom instruction is proving most valuable.

The situation had become so serious by 1913 that two investigations were conducted under the Assistant Superintendent of Schools "to determine, not by opinion, but by carefully verified data, the educational needs of those who enter business and whether the commercial schools of to-day are meet-

ing the needs.”¹ One of these investigations was conducted by the Chamber of Commerce and the other by the Women’s Educational and Industrial Union. Some of the main conclusions reached by the two investigations may be summarized as follows:

1. There are so few men occupied or needed in stenographic positions (in Boston) that it is not worth while for many boys to take training for work of this character. The practice of stenography is essentially a girls’ occupation.

2. The value in terms of earning capacity of a high school education is clearly demonstrated. The high school graduate makes more rapid advancement and quickly passes the one who has not gone beyond the primary schools.

3. The technical subjects most used in business which were taught in schools were ranked as follows: penmanship, mental arithmetic, bookkeeping, typewriting.

4. The commercial educator must be acquainted with business demands and see that the student has a capacity and equipment to meet them.

5. A four-year high school course should be insisted upon for all who can avail themselves of it and a fifth-year course of intensive training should be developed.

6. Intensive courses in evening schools for those who have gone to work are of great importance.

7. Coöperative office and school service should be developed, giving pupils an opportunity to work in business offices and to get an understanding of the conditions and requirements of actual business. This coöperative arrangement would react on the school and keep the courses close to the business world.

The commercial courses in the high schools of Boston

¹ Report of the Superintendent of Schools, 1914. Boston.

have been remodeled largely on the findings of these commissions.

Pupils leaving before completing the course. Commercial courses in general high schools have proved unsatisfactory. That this is the case is shown by the large number of pupils who drop out before completing the course. Of the 6536 pupils in the commercial courses in the Chicago high schools in September, 1905, only 1470 were graduated four years later. This is a loss of 77.5 per cent for the four years.¹ The attendance at the business colleges is largely made up of these pupils, and may be partly owing to their general dissatisfaction with the courses in the academic high schools. Four hundred and ninety-one pupils in the ten Chicago high schools wrote on the theme, "Why do Pupils leave the High School?" and of these 341, or 69.5 per cent, gave as a reason, "to go to business college." Two hundred and ninety-six, or 60.2 per cent, gave as a reason the fact that they saw no connection between their high school work and their future vocation.

The tendency is now, particularly in the large cities, to establish separate commercial high schools; but in the smaller towns and cities, the commercial work will have to be done in the academic high school, and if these courses are to be effective for their purpose, they must be given a definite close contact with business, which they have hitherto lacked. The majority of the teachers who are in charge of the business courses are academically trained, and have had no practical acquaintance with business affairs. Owing perhaps to this, the courses contain much that, while academically useful, has no direct application to actual business. In industrial

¹ "Vocational Training in Chicago and Other Cities." City Club of Chicago.

education it is now accepted as an axiom that the teachers must be men who have had actual shop experience, and surely the same principle should be applied to commercial subjects. Steps should be taken to keep the teachers alive to the changing conditions of business life. The pupils, moreover, must be given the opportunity to come into contact with the ordinary routine of a business office. This may be afforded by holiday apprenticeships, part-time courses, or occupations on Saturdays, when the schools are not in session. The medical student, the normal student, the pupils of the trade school are now all given opportunities for practice under working conditions. The business houses must furnish these opportunities. Model banks, offices, and like paraphernalia in the schools themselves are more or less of an artificial character and cannot be expected to do the work required. There are, of course, many difficulties in the way, but obstacles as great have been overcome in connection with industrial education. The plan has been satisfactorily worked out in connection with salesmanship instruction in the Boston schools.

Office work becoming specialized. Office work and business practice is becoming specialized in much the same way as industrial operations, and this feature will have to be considered in the organization of courses. A large retail organization in Boston showed two hundred different kinds of jobs or unit occupations in which one or more individuals were employed, and it is probable that commercial education will find its greatest and most practical development in the organization of unit courses such as are being extensively used as a method of industrial education.

An excellent example of a specialized commercial high school is the Clerical High School of Boston, established in

1914. The following are the unit courses of study proposed for this school:

COURSE PREPARING FOR OFFICE SERVICE

This course is available for girls who have completed two years of high school work, and consists of the following subjects: book-keeping, office practice, commercial arithmetic, commercial law, penmanship, and business English.

COURSE PREPARING FOR STENOGRAPHY AND HIGHER CLERICAL WORK

This course is available for girls who have completed three years of high school work, and consists of the following subjects: shorthand, typewriting, penmanship, business arithmetic, English, book-keeping, political geography, and office practice.

COURSE PREPARING FOR SECRETARIAL WORK AND BOOKKEEPING

This course is available for young men and women who are high school graduates, and consists of the following subjects: (a) (for secretaries), stenography, typewriting, business correspondence, office practice, commercial procedure; (b) (for bookkeepers), book-keeping, use of office machinery, filing devices, commercial arithmetic, commercial law.

Students in each of the above courses are advanced as rapidly as their progress will permit, and are given certificates when they have satisfactorily completed the courses without regard to the length of time required for completion.

Private business or commercial colleges. One of the most striking features in the history of the development of commercial education is the increase in the number of private "commercial colleges" and the number of pupils they, for various reasons, attract from the public school system. The American commercial college is probably unique; nothing exactly like it is to be found in other countries, and nowhere else has private enterprise been allowed to so monopolize a public function. In 1910 the high schools reported more

than one third (34.8 per cent) and the private commercial schools more than one half (57.7 per cent) of the students in commercial subjects in the United States, and although since that year the numbers of the commercial students in the public schools have increased and the numbers in the private colleges have decreased, the numbers in the latter are still very great.

Solicitation of pupils. As these schools are under no public control or inspection, the methods of their organization and equipment, their courses of study, and the qualifications of their teachers are difficult to obtain. The great charge made against the business colleges is, that they solicit pupils and parents in order to gain students. The Chicago report states "that the solicitor for the business colleges is a serious evil in the community." The attempt to gain pupils is not in itself a thing to be deplored; indeed, if the ordinary school system injected into its organization some of the business enterprise shown by the "colleges," it would be better for all concerned. It is the methods employed that are to be condemned.

In many cases the solicitors work on a commission basis, and usually they have not had any kind of training to fit them for the responsible work of advising children or their parents. They are usually more concerned in securing pupils than they are in telling the truth. The maturity or fitness of the pupil concerns them little. In attempting to secure these pupils misrepresentation, if not downright lying, is often resorted to. Pupils are guaranteed situations at the end of the course. The success of exceptional students is made use of, and by these and other means pupils, even from the fifth grade and upwards, are induced to leave the public schools to take a course in some business college. A Chicago

high school teacher states : "In our city these business schools obtain complete lists of pupils in each of the upper grades, as well as of the pupils in the high schools (one cannot say how) and their solicitors canvass these families thoroughly and repeatedly, setting forth the advantages of a course in a business school and the loss of time in attending high school. This work would not be so effective as it is if they were not able to convince parents and pupils that the business college offers a short cut to wage earning."

Evidence to this effect is not only given by teachers, but also by pupils. In ten high schools spread throughout the whole of the city of Chicago 565 pupils out of 862 gave as a reason why more pupils do not enter the high schools, the work of the business college agent. One pupil writes : "School pupils who have a chance to choose between high school and business college are generally encouraged to attend college by men who entice them before they graduate from the grammar school, so they are turned from high school. There is no one going from house to house telling of things they have in high school and people don't bother to find out. I would have had this same experience only that my father, being a well-educated man and holding a good position, knew different, and I was compelled to go to high school."

It is just here that the high school could afford to take a leaf out of the book of the commercial school. The high schools should make more effort to advertise effectively what they have to offer to the child who is at the end of the elementary school course. It is only in this way that the efforts of the agents of the business schools can be counteracted. Any advertising that is done at present by the high school consists simply of a dry statement of the courses,

which conveys nothing to the average parent. Compare this with the elaborate catalogues issued by the business schools, illustrated by attractive pictures, often fanciful, of students, successful graduates, buildings, and equipment.

Many reputable proprietors of business colleges condemn these practices, but feel compelled to make use of them, owing to the fierce competition of other schools. One such proprietor says: "Business college training in Chicago is in large measure a failure because of soliciting children and employing teachers who lack training. Poor foundation, poor teachers, and textbooks which produce the largest cash dividend are not conducive to efficient office help. I will welcome the day when every young man and woman who needs and wants commercial training can get it without having to pay the fee charged by special schools."

It is estimated that the citizens of Chicago pay \$1,425,000 in tuition to such schools. It must be remembered that these schools are under no restriction by any educational authority, and the parents have no guarantee that their children are working under even fair sanitary conditions. Overcrowding and bad ventilation are common. These matters should surely be a concern of the law, and no such school should be allowed to receive pupils until it has convinced the educational authorities, on the one hand, that the proposed course is satisfactory, and, on the other, the health authorities that the working conditions are such as will insure a healthy environment. It should also be made a punishable offense to make false statements or misrepresentations in order to lure children to these schools.

Defects. The defects of the average private business college may be thus summarized. It should be said, however, that there are many institutions to which the strictures do not

apply. Some have done a necessary and useful work not hitherto performed by any public organization.

1. No attention is paid to age, preparedness, or desirability of admission of individual pupils.
2. Pupils are retained for the sake of the fee after their unfitness is discovered.
3. Overcrowding in classrooms with too many pupils to a teacher.
4. Bad grading as to age, previous preparation, and ability — all pupils being included in one class.
5. Untrained and inexperienced teachers.
6. An unsatisfactory curriculum, ignoring general education and sufficient office practice.
7. An atmosphere subversive of business ideals.
8. Unscrupulous methods of solicitation.
9. Absence of an official standard of education, and lack of all supervision except by an interested proprietor.

Evening commercial schools. Much that has been said with reference to evening schools in other sections of this study applies here also, and no part of our educational system deserves more intelligent handling than the evening commercial high school. In no other department do the students attend with such a definite purpose as they do here, and the night schools should not be looked upon as an afterthought or a sideshow in our educational organization. The problems of the evening school are somewhat more complicated than those of the day school. Girls attend from different motives, from varying occupations, and with different degrees of preparation, and all these factors have to be considered. Here are found girls who work in offices during the day and who wish to supplement their previous training, girls who work in stores, factories, and domestic service and have to

6. The provision of satisfactory and sufficient equipment. Students cannot get sufficient practice on the typewriter without an adequate number of machines, nor can adults do satisfactory work in desks designed only for children.

CHAPTER XIII

EDUCATION FOR SALESMANSHIP

- I. Methods of selling goods.
- II. A pioneer school of salesmanship.
- III. Instruction in the stores.
- IV. Part-time instruction.
- V. New York State Factory Investigating Commission.
- VI. Instruction in Boston public schools.
- VII. Agreements between the stores and the schools.
- VIII. Training teachers.
- IX. Physical education of the salesgirl.

Methods of selling goods. One great avenue for the employment of girls and women is salesmanship. More than two hundred thousand of them are occupying positions as clerks and saleswomen in various types of mercantile establishments in the United States. Within recent years the character and methods of retail selling have been revolutionized. It was formerly the practice to make a profit, regardless of whether the customers were satisfied or not. The present system of one price for all was unknown. Goods were marked with secret marks known only to the seller, and the best saleswoman was the one who could obtain the highest price, and the price first asked was generally higher than the one she expected finally to obtain. An article once bought, the transaction was regarded as closed and the idea that "a bargain was a bargain" was rigidly adhered to. If when the article reached home the customer

was not satisfied, nobody suffered but the buyer, and the merchant did not consider himself obligated to remove the dissatisfaction of the purchaser. He deserved to be cheated, because he was not sharp enough to detect flaws and defects, which it was his business to discover.

To-day all this is changed. One price is made to all for the same class of goods. The price of an article does not depend on the ability of the purchaser to pay, and there is no room for haggling or bargaining within the organization of any reputable store. Goods are now universally changed if the purchaser is not satisfied, or the purchase price is refunded if the customer wishes. This policy was inaugurated by John Wanamaker more than 40 years ago. On May 6, 1876, he opened his two-acre store in an old freight department of the Pennsylvania railway company, and many merchants predicted his failure; but the new store was to do business with the public and not with other traders, and the public appreciated the new methods because

1. The store would not importune any one to buy.
2. The prices of goods were put down at the beginning to the lowest point they could be sold for, and there was no underground way to get them.
3. The goods were genuinely trustworthy. Seconds were not sold for anything but seconds, even if people could not tell the difference.
4. A sale could be canceled and money got back easily by return of what failed to please.¹

The policy thus inaugurated now dominates the business of retail selling, and if the transactions of a merchant do not result in profit to the customer as well as to himself success in any large way cannot be expected. "Service to cus-

¹ Golden Book of the Wanamaker Store, Philadelphia.

tomers" is now the only method of building up a business. The buyers from all stores meet and mingle in the same markets. They have access to the same sources of supply, and all buy on much the same terms. Prices are the same in all stores, and generally speaking one store is distinguished from another only by certain features of its service. All this goes to show that successful retail selling now demands the highest kind of service to the customer, and this cannot be given without a well-trained, courteous, and intelligent selling force.

Competition has forced this question to the front, and it is now recognized that the saleswoman is the point of contact between the customer and the store, and upon the impression she creates depends the estimate the customer forms of the store and its service. Her appearance, intelligence, courtesy, personality, knowledge of stock, and ability to adapt that stock to the needs and requirements of the customer are vital factors in giving a right and lasting impression. Many of the qualities which a saleswoman should possess may be gained through the right kind of instruction.

A pioneer school of salesmanship. One of the most successful pioneer schools for the training of saleswomen is the Union School of Salesmanship of Boston, organized by the Women's Educational and Industrial Union in coöperation with five large department stores of the city. Mrs. Prince, the Director of the school, began her experiments by interesting the store superintendents. As was to be expected, they were very skeptical as to the necessity or feasibility of training saleswomen. They asked for proof that the scheme she proposed would work, and that it would result in greater efficiency. In order to prove that a trained woman could sell more goods, and handle more customers

successfully, Mrs. Prince entered a store and took a place behind the counter. At the end of the day she had made a splendid record, and had beaten every one of her competitors, selling three or four times the amount of some. The practice was continued on other days, and in other stores, and the results were always the same.

Coöperation of the stores with the school. At first the school was carried on without connection with any business house, but under these conditions it did not attract the kind of girl wanted in the stores. It was then that Mrs. Prince secured the interest of the stores, and the five contributing firms agreed to allow the pupils one day a week in the stores in order to secure the necessary business contact. For this service one dollar was paid. The next step taken was the formation of an advisory committee, consisting of the superintendents of the five stores. This committee agreed to allow the girls half time in the store and half time in the schools, paying three dollars a week for the store work. Afterwards the girls were given full pay (six dollars) and allowed three hours a day for three months for training. The girls are selected from the store by the director of the school. They attend from 8.30 to 11.30 every morning except Mondays. At the end of the three months, if the girl's work is satisfactory, she is given a permanent position in the store at the initial wage of six dollars.

At present there are over six hundred graduates of the saleswomen's classes, and the record of their progress has been most encouraging. Out of a total of 195 graduates interviewed in 1913, 145 had received a wage increase during the year. Thirty-four of them had been advanced two dollars a week, eighteen had been advanced three dollars a week, six had received a weekly increase of four dollars. For the

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remaining eighty-seven, wages had been increased all the way from fifty cents to fourteen dollars a week. Fourteen of the graduates held executive positions with wages ranging from nine dollars to twenty-five dollars a week.

Objects of the instruction. The instruction given is intended to accomplish the following objects :

1. To develop a wholesome attractive personality. In this connection a study of hygiene is made which includes daily menus for saleswomen, ventilation, bathing, sleeping, exercise, etc.
2. To give familiarity with the general system of stores : sales practice, store directory, business arithmetic and forms, lectures.
3. To increase knowledge of stock : color, design, textiles.
4. To teach selling as a science : discussion of store experiences, talks on salesmanship, demonstration of selling in the class, salesmanship lectures.

Representatives of the firms give practical talks on such subjects as "How to show goods," "Trifles," "Textiles," "Service to customer," "Customer's point of view," etc. Demonstration lessons are conducted like the practice teaching in normal schools. Real customers, representing different types, buy real articles. At the end of the sale the one who has made it is allowed to criticize her own work, the customer states why she did, or did not, buy the article, and the whole matter is summed up by the director.¹ For admission the girls must be at least eighteen years of age, and have had a good fundamental education. Some of the store superintendents admit that three well-trained saleswomen

¹ National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, Bulletin No.13. "Vocational Training in Chicago and Other Cities." City Club of Chicago.

can manage a counter better than six indifferent ones, and the well-trained with good salaries cost the store no more than the indifferent six. The school keeps in closest touch with the stores, and after pupils have attended the school for six weeks the superintendents of the stores from which the pupils come are asked to estimate the value of the instruction given, and to offer suggestions in regard to special points in the training of the individual students. The instruction is thorough in every way, and has a decided cultural as well as a direct educational value.

The following are the questions sent by the director of the school to the store superintendents:

Will please answer the following questions in regard to Miss considering her work when she entered the salesmanship class in comparison with what she is now doing.

1. Is her personality more interesting and attractive since she entered the school?

2. Does she comprehend the store system and apply its rules more exactly?

3. Does she make out her sales slips more distinctly, accurately, rapidly?

4. Has she developed power of initiative during the training?

5. Does she keep her stock well, neatly, attractively, and with full lines?

6. Does she know her stock,—what she has, and how to talk about it,—advertised goods, lines in competing stores, etc.?

7. Has she an easy manner with all types of customers? If not, what particular type does it seem hard for her to approach?

8. Is she energetic and business-like in her work and attitude?

9. Is she more willing to work anywhere in the store whenever need arises?

10. Suggestions: Please note here any special points which need emphasis during the final weeks of training.

Signature.....

Date.....

Examinations. The efficiency of the instruction is tested by regular examinations. The following are typical examination papers in "textiles" and "salesmanship."

EXAMINATION IN TEXTILES

1. Describe in detail a single raw fiber of each of the four textiles studied. What advantage for manufacture has each?
2. How do woolens and worsteds differ in raw material, treatment, and finished product? Give two examples of each.
3. *a.* Name three hair-bearing animals and the textile material made from their hair.
b. Name three vegetable fibers and one material made from each.
4. Give all the tests you know for a good piece of cotton sheeting, dress linen, broadcloth, taffeta.
5. Which of the four textile fibers are raised but little in this country? Why?
6. What is meant by "natural color" in linens and silks? Give two examples of natural colored silks and one of natural colored linen.
7. *a.* Compare cotton and linen as to durability, cost, and beauty.
b. What is meant by warp, plain weave, sizing, live fleece, wool, spun silk?
8. Where is the greatest amount of the raw material of cotton produced?
Where is the greatest amount of the raw material of wool produced?
Where is the greatest amount of the raw material of silk produced?
Where is the greatest amount of the raw material of linen produced?
Where is wool raised in the United States?
Where is wool manufactured in the United States?
9. Tell all you can of the "boiling off" process in the manufacture of silk and the "weighting" which usually follows it.
10. Name materials, class of fiber (animal or vegetable), and give talking points of samples in the envelope supplied.

EXAMINATION IN SALESMANSHIP

1. *a.* State ten cases in which it is necessary to have the signature of the floor manager.
b. What is the purpose of the sales slip?
2. Suggest three ways of finding out the price a customer is willing to pay.
3. *a.* Describe in detail an interesting sale which you have made or lost lately, and tell why you think it resulted as it did.
b. Analyze the sale.
4. Name at least three things you can do to save time in making a sale.

5. If you have a customer who has always worn a certain type of suit quite out-of-date, how are you going to sell her an up-to-date suit, and make her feel satisfied after she has got it home?

6. Give four reasons why a firm reduces the price of merchandise.

7. Give an outline showing how some article from your own stock is handled from the time it reaches the receiving room until it is delivered to the customer.

8. What do you mean by selling or talking points? Give at least five talking points, and if possible more, on the following:

a. an article from the stock you are now selling.

b. an apron used in the demonstration sales.

c. a bureau scarf from the handwork shop.

9. Name ten principles of good salesmanship which you have learned from the demonstration sales.

10. What do you consider the greatest need in your department and why? What can you do about it?¹

Instruction in the stores. The Wanamaker stores in Philadelphia have for many years conducted regular classes for the younger employees. These are held twice a week and all must attend, the girls and junior boys from 8.30 to 10 o'clock in the morning, and the senior boys from 6.40 to 9.30 in the evening. The course of study consists of the common English branches, commercial geography, ethics, and knowledge of business forms. Regular textbooks are used, and the classes are taught by experienced public school teachers. This instruction had a humble beginning in a class in arithmetic designed to remove the ignorance of the boys in addition, subtraction, and the making of figures. These classes have developed into the John Wanamaker Mercantile Institute, which has since become the American University of Applied Commerce and Trade, and is chartered by the state of Pennsylvania.

Some department stores depend largely upon lectures on store topics to their employees. These are delivered at stated periods by various high officials. Such subjects as

¹ Butler, E. B., *Saleswomen in Mercantile Stores*.

the following are chosen: "approach," "deportment," "lookers," "system," "directing customers," "suggestive selling," "loyalty," "courtesy," "enthusiasm," "time," "coöperation," "errors," "advertising," "service," "indirect advertising," "industry," "knowledge of merchandise," "care of merchandise," "wastes in business," "store directory and store system." In many cases the educational value of these lectures is further increased by furnishing to each sales person a bulletin on the subject of the lecture for preservation and further study.¹

There is no department of the store where effective instruction cannot be given. In some stores courses of lessons are given to bundle wrappers. The beneficial effect of such instruction cannot be questioned. After sixty little cash and bundle girls from a department store had attended a half-day-a-week continuation school for a few weeks the employer who had greatly resented their going said: "You have made these youngsters over. They have now an entirely different conception of the store and its opportunities."

Many stores in various parts of the country are recognizing the desirability of giving such training to their employees, both for the sake of the individual saleswoman, and for the business itself. In order that this instruction may be placed on a satisfactory basis educational directors have been appointed by various firms in Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, New York, Newark, Philadelphia, and San Francisco. In fifteen stores of the above cities nine of these officers are women. The function of the director is to organize and carry out a course of training suitable for the employees of the store, and

¹ "Service Instruction of American Corporations." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1916, No. 34.

to supervise the selling force. In many stores he takes over the functions of the sales manager, and in others those of the buyers. In others, as for instance the store of Marshall Field and Co., he is also in charge of employment and welfare work. This is said to be the ideal arrangement, for then the responsibility for engaging the right kind of people, for training them efficiently, and for providing proper working conditions is centered in one person. He then can correlate it so as to produce the best results.

Part-time instruction. The possibilities of part-time instruction in salesmanship are very great. The New York Factory Investigating Commission reports that there is in the normal store a certain amount of what may be called "dull time." The early hours of the morning are generally slack since the bulk of the trade does not arrive before ten o'clock, and in some stores the hour is still later. Some of this time is needed by the employees for the care of their departments, but a certain portion of it could very well be spared for instruction resulting in a positive gain to the individual and to the business. The number of employees required to serve a department during the rush hours is greatly in excess of those needed during the remainder of the day, and owing to this it should be quite possible to arrange a series of shifts for instructional purposes.

Properly organized training courses can be made to accomplish three definite objects: (1) to bring the individual up to a minimum standard, (2) give such increase in efficiency as shall receive increase in wages, and (3) fit for the "job ahead" or the "next step." The girl of exceptional ability may be trusted to look after herself, and will rise without any special attention being paid to her. It is the average worker who requires this instruction. The New York Board of

Education in conjunction with six department stores have established classes for the fourteen to sixteen year old employee. These classes are under the control of the board, and are taught by regular certificated teachers. The stores provide the necessary classroom and send certain of the boys and girls to attend during store time. At present the instruction given in these classes is in the main a continuation of the elementary school subjects taught with special reference to their application to department store work.

New York State Factory Investigating Commission. The report of this commission makes the following recommendations :

1. There is need for vocational training in the department store. The difficulty of securing competent workers, the lack of those properly qualified for promotion, and the special knowledge required for efficiency in the various occupations indicate that this need exists.
2. There is a wide field for this kind of training, as shown by the number of employees and the variety of occupations in the business.
3. The industry depends largely for its new workers upon the untrained boy or girl who leaves school between fourteen and sixteen years of age.
4. Store organization is such that there are opportunities to give the necessary training.
5. While there are a number of training schemes in operation, they are confined to relatively few occupations and have not yet been developed to the point where they fully meet the needs of the industry.
6. The analysis of the business into departments and occupations shows that in each type of employment there is a certain definite content of knowledge or manipulative skill, or

both, for which training can be given. In certain places this content of knowledge is considerable, and must be acquired by the efficient employee.

Instruction in Boston schools. Instruction in salesmanship is given a place in the continuation and high schools of Boston, and its introduction is directly traceable to the influence of the Women's Educational and Industrial Union of that city. Such courses are now organized in nine of the high schools, and there are over three hundred girls taking them. An arrangement has been effected by which the girls may get store experience on Saturdays, Mondays, and during holidays. In January, 1914, a director of practical work in salesmanship was appointed to coördinate commercial work in general high schools with practical work in a group of co-operating stores, and as this director is also acquainted with the conditions of work in the different schools, she is able to harmonize the work between the store and the school, so that the minimum of confusion may result. The director also organizes the technical salesmanship courses given in the schools, and supervises the teachers of those courses. The teachers are required to be persons who, by business experience and training, are qualified to give the necessary instruction. The success of courses of this character depends almost entirely upon the kind of positions the girls can secure and retain, after training, and the placement and follow-up work carried on by the director has an important function in this connection.

Agreements between the stores and the schools. It is only when such schools and courses have the hearty coöperation of the stores for which they are preparing, that they can hope to succeed. This coöperation must be active and not passive, and definite agreements should be entered into

between the schools and the stores, in order that there may be no possibility of misconception or misunderstanding. Too often courses have been organized without any thought having been given to the destination of the students. Training students who cannot be absorbed into the industry is a great economic waste. The vocational schools must be supported by the industries for which they train.

An almost entirely new departure is being made with respect to trade agreements of this character by which the trades and industries are to support the vocational courses in the Dunwoody Institute and in the Girls' Vocational High School, Minneapolis. These agreements are of various types. One provides that the employers and unions are to require all apprentices during three years of their apprenticeship to attend at least five days a week an all-day school at the Dunwoody Institute for two months of the dull season of the trade in which they are engaged. Arrangements are made with the employers that they shall pay half the usual wages while attending the school. One half the time spent in school by the apprentice is to be devoted to the practical work of the trade, and one half to technical and academic work. One of these agreements is with the department stores and is of a very broad character, providing for all emergencies that may arise, and safeguarding the interests of both employer and employee.¹

Training teachers. As has been previously pointed out, the success of such schools and classes depends very largely upon the kind of teacher employed. The teacher of salesmanship must combine business and store experience with teaching ability. She should have maturity of judgment and a large vision of the social and economic significance of the

¹ *The Industrial Arts Magazine*, September, 1915.

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work, always remembering that the girls under her charge need training for right and happy living through the ability to perform their daily duties, either in the store or any other vocation into which they may enter.

The demand for teachers of salesmanship in department stores, continuation and high schools has become so great

MORNING

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY, THURSDAY, FRIDAY, SATURDAY
Selling in department stores	Study of merchandise and store system in coöperating stores. Supervision of store work of pupils in salesmanship school	Observation and theory and practice of teaching the following subjects in the salesmanship school: Textiles Color and design Hygiene Salesmanship English Merchandise Economics Arithmetic Daily conferences with the director on the morning's work.

AFTERNOON

MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
Selling in department stores	Economics Industrial history	Education Textiles	Applied psychology Education	Textiles Textiles

that a training class for teachers has been established by means of coöperation between the Women's Educational and Industrial Union School of Salesmanship and Simmons College, Boston. The students spend Monday in selling goods *in various* department stores, the mornings of the remainder

of the week in observing the theory and practice of teaching in the Union School of Salesmanship, and the afternoons in technical courses at the college. About thirty graduates of this class are at present engaged in teaching salesmanship in department stores and in vocational classes in various parts of the United States. The schedule of classes is given above. The work, with its many ramifications, done by the Union School of Salesmanship is graphically shown by the chart on opposite page.

Physical education of the salesgirl. The connection between health and efficiency has been recognized in a general kind of way for some time. Efforts are now being made in factories and other industrial concerns to improve working conditions, and by so doing to conserve human energies. The question, however, is a much wider one than the provision of satisfactory working conditions. The health of the individual largely determines her efficiency, and her efficiency is of vital concern to the store. Several large firms now give a medical and physical examination to applicants for employment, and a periodic examination to their employees.

The necessity of a periodic examination of the individuals composing the sales force has been clearly shown by the findings of a recent examination of seventy-five saleswomen in New York, of whom seventy-eight per cent suffered from scoliosis, sixty-three per cent from exaggerated curves of the back, thirty-seven per cent from thoroughly bad backs, twenty-eight per cent from leucorrhea, twenty-one per cent from pronated feet, eighteen per cent from heart weakness, eighteen per cent from severe pain at menstruation, and eight per cent from painless flat foot. Although the average age of these seventy-five young women was only twenty-

six years, but eight per cent had good backs and only twelve per cent were in good physical condition.

The stores which are engaging in this work are seeking to remedy discovered defects by the issue of bulletins, prescribing corrective exercises, dental care, provision of rest rooms and gymnasiums, instruction in personal hygiene, lunch rooms in which proper food is served, and the provision of suitable recreative facilities. This work is not entered into from philanthropic motives but as a purely commercial proposition, as it is found to yield adequate financial returns derived from the greater efficiency of the sales force.

CHAPTER XIV

VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

- I. Introduction.
- II. Rise of the movement.
- III. Varying opinions.
- IV. Vocational guidance in Edinburgh, Scotland.
- V. Placement of elementary school pupils.
- VI. Placement of high school pupils.
- VII. Information needed regarding industries.
- VIII. Vocational guidance in the high school.
- IX. Qualifications of the vocational adviser.
- X. Conclusion.

Introduction. The federal, provincial, and state governments on this continent have within recent years engaged themselves very largely with what has been called the "conservation of natural resources." This phrase is used to express foresight and restraint in the use of physical sources of wealth, such as land, soil, water power, woods, minerals, fisheries, etc., and of the goods produced from these natural resources. The term has not yet been interpreted to include human resources and institutions, but there is as much need for the one as there is for the other. Great as has been the waste of natural resources, it is probable that the waste of our human resources has been still greater, and the modern movement for vocational guidance and assistance may be looked upon as a movement for the conservation of our human resources.

Rise of the movement. The movement arose owing to a widespread impression that the majority of our boys and girls leaving school, and the parents of these children, were guided by no sound principles in their choice of occupation, other than the immediate wage received, and that they gave no thought to the future prospects of the industry. New nations have always been prodigal in the exploitation of their resources, both natural and human. In the past if a wrong calling was chosen or no choice was made, the wealth of opportunity and abundance of resource furnished a fair chance of getting a living. Just as the fertility of the soil and the extent of our forests seemed limitless, so human opportunity seemed to present itself at every turn, and a worker could afford to transplant herself many times because conditions were so favorable. But the economic conditions which made this possible have changed, and a choice once made cannot now be altered without loss and waste.

The United States, like many of the crowded European countries, has come to that point in its economic history when it must pay adequate attention to the elimination of waste if its people are to be fed, clothed, and sheltered. Haphazard choice with its consequent failure, waste, and change cannot any longer be ignored or allowed to go on unhindered. In the last analysis the suitability of the occupation, and the efficiency of the worker, are the foundation of individual and national success. How to secure this suitability with a reasonable amount of certainty, and still preserve to the individual the right and the opportunity to improve her condition, is the problem with which vocational guidance must concern itself.

There is ample evidence to prove that in the majority

of cases occupations are not chosen, but are simply drifted into. "Boys (and girls) find themselves in their vocation as the result of custom, heredity, propinquity, or accident, far oftener than through deliberate or conscious choice."¹ Among the answers given to the question, "Why did you choose your present occupation?" occur the following: "Because that is what the other girls were doing." "Because I happened to get a job at that trade." "It was the first thing I saw." One parent said: "There are so many girls hunting for jobs that we thought that she had better take the first she could get." In a vocational school in Rochester, New York, all of the boys who entered from a certain school² wished to take up carpentry because one boy, who was a leader, came from that school and took up carpentry. From another, every boy wished to be a plumber and in a short time the school had more plumbers on hand than could be properly placed in good positions. Vocational selection became a game of "follow the leader."

There are many localities where whole sections of the people at first sight seem doomed from birth to enter one occupation, and that occupation is the prevailing one of the district. In the early days of the vocational guidance movement it was contended that vocational education should aim to fit for the local industries only, and that vocational guidance should guide young people into those industries. It seemed to be generally assumed that most people stay where they are born, and therefore the greatest good would be done to the greatest number by giving them preparation for the work that is the predominating industry of their localities. But that this is contrary to the fact is shown by Dr. Ayres who

¹ Proceedings of National Child Labor Committee, 1910.

² *Survey*, December 20, 1910.

points out¹ that the workers of the United States are a migratory lot. Of 22,027 thirteen-year-old boys in the public schools of seventy-eight American cities only 12,699, or a few more than half, are living in the places of their birth. Only one in six of the fathers of these boys is living in the place where he was born. It will thus be seen that vocational guidance is something more than guiding the children into the industries of the locality in which they may happen to be living at any particular time.

Vocational guidance is no new thing. Wherever there are growing boys and girls they have always received advice, more or less interested, more or less wise as to the occupations that they should enter. There was a time when the average child was willing to take advice, but like the "man from Missouri," the child now wants to be shown.

For many years vocational guidance has been given in various ways though it was not dignified by that name. The movement had attained such proportions in 1910 that in that year a national conference was called in Boston, and in New York City in 1912. At this latter convention a committee was formed to arrange for a convention in 1913, and to consider the formation of a permanent organization if this seemed advisable. As a result of the deliberations of this committee the organization of the National Vocational Guidance Association was completed at Grand Rapids, October 21-24, 1913. At first sight it would seem that the organization of a new society was not necessary. We have the National Education Association, Child Labor Committees, Consumers' Leagues, and many others, more or less concerned with the same problem, but after careful in-

¹ "Vocational Guidance." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 14.

vestigation it was concluded that no existing organization was in a condition to do the work the new society proposed for itself, and which needed immediate attention. In the words of the constitution of the society "the objects of this association shall be to promote intercourse between those who are interested in vocational guidance; to give a stronger and more general impulse and more systematic direction to the study and practice of vocational guidance; and to coöperate with the public schools and other agencies for the furtherance of these objects."

It will be noticed that the association does not, and perhaps wisely, attempt to define what vocational guidance really is. In a report of the Superintendent of Schools for New York¹ it is stated that "this modern movement for vocational guidance is still little more than a body of good intentions without any clarified plan. To different minds and in different cities the phrase carries almost opposite suggestions for plans." This general haziness still exists to a considerable extent, but order is being slowly evolved out of chaos, and experiments are being worked out in several cities which are doing much good and which may eventually result in the formulation of definite policies and plans.

Varying opinions. Probably there is no subject connected with educational advancement and propaganda upon which greater differences of opinion exist than this of vocational guidance. Some still believe that the problem is almost entirely one of placement, that is, guiding individual boys and girls into suitable employment. Others think that at present there is a state of general ignorance among teachers and parents, and that they are in the most need

¹ Fourteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, New York.

ment, and continuation school activities are all centered in the offices of the Edinburgh School Board. The bureau for vocational assistance was established in 1908, and a law was passed to allow money to be spent from the school funds for its organization, but no special sum was appropriated. The organization of continuation classes was placed in charge of the new bureau, thus recognizing the connection between continued education and leaving school at fourteen.

The first effort of the director of this bureau was to call the attention of those leaving school for work to the opportunities offered by the continuation classes. In 1910 the Board of Trade opened a labor exchange, and with two agencies in the field there was much danger of overlapping. The need for a working arrangement between the two bodies was "obvious both from the point of view of economy of public money and from that of healthy civic and industrial organization." A memorandum was drawn up and a satisfactory agreement reached between the two bodies. In that memorandum the functions of a juvenile employment agency are stated as follows:

1. Advice to juveniles as to the pursuits for which they are, by ability, character, taste, and education, suited.
2. Advice to juveniles as to the opportunities which exist in the various occupations.
3. Collection and promulgation of general information in regard to industrial conditions.
4. Registration, *i.e.*, bringing into contact the employer with a specific position to offer, and the juvenile suited for and desiring such a position.
5. The supervision, in certain cases, of the juvenile after he has obtained employment, so that he is induced to take

advantage of all educational facilities applicable to his work and is advised as to the various steps in his industrial career.

6. The keeping of the system of further education in real touch with the industrial needs of the locality.

It was at once admitted that numbers one, five, and six are the sole concern of the educational authorities. Number three (the collection of information) was definitely allotted to the labor exchanges. Number two (giving information as to industrial opportunities) was argued in the memorandum for the board of trade on the one side and the board of education on the other and the conclusion was reached that the balance of argument lay in favor of placing it under the educational authorities. In regard to number four a compromise was arranged to the following effect. The registration clerk and machinery remained part of the organization of the labor exchange, but was to be housed in the same office as that of the bureau, thus establishing the closest coöperation between the two.

The plan is worked as follows. Under the Scotch Act school boards may fix dates for leaving school. Several weeks before the next fixed date each head master (principal) fills up cards giving particulars of age, physical ability, and grade in school. The cards also contain the opinion of the teacher as to the occupation for which the pupil is suited and notes as to proposed employment, suggestions for further education, and spaces for general remarks. These cards are sent in to the education officer, who files them for future use. The parents of the pupil are often invited to an evening meeting and addressed by members of the board and the teachers, on the subject of vocational choice. Circulars are sent to those who do, and to those who do not attend these meetings.

A large number of the boys and girls come to the board office to follow up the card. A visit is first paid to the exchange officer's room, and the card is stamped with the reference number of the occupation desired. The candidate then passes to the educational officer, where a general talk takes place on aims and prospects. After this the boy or girl is definitely registered for a particular kind of employment. Employers are informed of the joint arrangement, and their coöperation requested. Both officers make systematic visits to factories to study industrial conditions to gain ideas for the improvement of continuation classes and to inform the employers of the facilities for supplying them with suitable workers. The following is a copy of one of the circulars issued.

THOUGHTS FOR A GIRL ON LEAVING SCHOOL

1. Consider what you are best fitted for; ask your parents and your teacher what they think.
2. Choose healthy work; remember that domestic service offers food, home, and comfort as well as work and wages; that it is the training for the future home life of the woman and that, with character and ability, it will command good wages in any part of the country.
3. If you prefer a trade, choose one in which you will be likely to find employment anywhere and at any time; learn it thoroughly so that employers will value your services. Do not change from one thing to another without good reason.
4. Stick to your school to the last possible moment, and make good use of it; later on you will see better than you do now how much the school work has helped. And "keep it up" by going to a continuation school when you leave the day school.
5. Remember that in the continuation schools you can receive instruction in subjects which are directly related to the various occupations open to girls and young women, and also the domestic training which will enable you to discharge with intelligent interest the responsible practical duties of the home.
6. If the work you take up is not satisfactory, stick to it till you get something really better. In any case come back to the school and tell your teacher how you are getting on.

7. Be brave and cheerful in whatever work you choose. You will find nothing perfect; but perseverance and hard work during the first few years will make the rest of life more easy.

8. The educational information and employment department, 14 Cornwall Street, is open daily from 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. (Saturday 10 A.M. to 12.30 P.M.) and on Monday evenings from 7 P.M. to 9 P.M. You can there obtain — free of charge — advice and information as to suitable employment and further education, and through the agency of the department you may obtain employment for which you are fitted.

In the summer of 1910, before the plan had been long in operation, the school board made an investigation into the different kinds of employment open to young children in order to gain a clear idea of the range of industrial opportunity, and of the type of schooling required in the different occupations. This shows a list of sixty-seven different occupations open to boys and forty-three open to girls. A copy of this census has been supplied to the schools, besides a series of booklets for boys and girls. A copy of the handbook, "Occupations for Girls," is sent to each girl nearing the leaving age.

One of the main features of this scheme is the encouragement of attendance at evening classes, and the success is shown by the fact that during the last six years the enrolment has increased by 189 per cent. In its report on the work in Edinburgh the Scotch Education Department says: "Good organization, the coöperation of the educational authorities, and a public opinion increasingly alive to the importance and necessity of the work, have combined to secure a very rapid development of the continuation class system in Edinburgh. The Edinburgh School Board maintains a position in the front rank of enlightened educational authorities by the unstinted exertion and enterprise with which it has grappled with the very difficult problems of continued education."

The placement of elementary school pupils. The fact cannot be disputed that a large number of children leave school at fourteen years of age or younger to earn wages in some form of industrial occupation. Shall we allow these children of fourteen to drift into blind-alley or dead-end jobs because we think they should not be in industry? It is not a question of placing them in the best jobs; it is a question of placing them temporarily in the least demoralizing jobs. The girl should be assisted in finding her first job and supervised in her early working life. If this supervision or follow-up work can be brought about, it will have two very desirable effects; first of all, it will probably result in sending many of the children back to school instead of into industry, and it may lead them out of the unskilled job to others with some prospect of advancement through the encouragement given to continued education. Indeed it may be said paradoxically that the best placement work is that which dissuades the child under sixteen from entering industry at all.

If a girl, however, *must* go to work at fourteen years of age, let us give her the best advice our limited knowledge of industry renders possible, and keep oversight of her until she is so trained that it is possible for her to take the next best job. Placement of children at fourteen years of age, without an adequate follow-up system, may do considerable harm. Placement of these children depends on two things; first, knowledge of the industries to which it is proposed to send them, and secondly, accurate data about the children themselves. The first will be dealt with later. With regard to the second, the collection of data should begin the moment the child enters the elementary school, and by the time the girl has passed through the school, there should be available

a complete record of her educational history, and any particular aptitude she has shown. With such information available the character and ability of the girl would be accurately known, and reliable advice based on this knowledge might be more safely given.

Placement of high school pupils. The question of the placement of the girl who has had one or two years in the high school does not present such undesirable features. During the early years of the high school course it is possible to give definite information and instruction, by the use of which the student herself will be able to exercise a wise choice of an occupation. The whole organized vocational movement is really the outgrowth of the attempts by one teacher to help his students to choose and secure work. The High School Teachers' Association of New York¹ through its student's aid committee took the lead, and by 1908 there was in each day and evening high school a teacher or committee of teachers to help students to decide what vocation to choose, and also to teach them how to enter it. These committees stated their objects to be as follows:

"In order that local committees and the teachers of the several schools may be better prepared to help pupils who leave school to fit themselves to their environment, the general committee has planned to collect and make available information regarding —

1. The necessary and prescribed qualifications for entering the skilled trades and learned professions in this city.
2. The opportunities which are furnished to the young people of this city for acquiring these necessary qualifica-

¹ Twenty-fifth Annual Report of Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington.

tions, the time usually required, and the expense to the individual of qualifying himself.

3. The restrictions which are placed by labor unions and professional bodies upon candidates who desire to enter the several skilled trades or professions.

4. The average remuneration, and the relative permanency of employment which a properly qualified person of either sex may expect in each of the skilled trades, the learned professions, and the commercial pursuits in which young people are usually employed."

If a student is obliged to begin work with inadequate equipment for the vocation she has decided upon, the counselors have arranged in some cases to secure for her three or four successive positions in each of which some part of the necessary training may be secured. Each of these is held until its contribution towards the training required has been mastered. By attendance at evening schools the academic part of the training is secured. When our knowledge of the industries is more complete, it may be found that a plan of this kind will furnish opportunities for immediate wage earning, provide for future advancement, and solve many of the problems of the employment of the fourteen year old girl.

Information needed regarding industries. The New York report above referred to says: "It is useless to attempt to guide children into 'vocations' before we have more information. Neither the vocational guidance survey, nor any other organization has adequate information at present about the demand for workers, or the opportunities for and conditions of work and training in the twenty largest industries, not to mention the legion minor ones."¹ Without

¹ Fourteenth Annual Report of the Superintendent of Schools, New York.

agreeing with the statement that "it is useless to attempt to guide children into vocations" there can be no doubt that more information about the industries is urgently needed. That this need is now recognized is shown by the numerous industrial and educational surveys that have been and are being made in different communities. After the survey has been made, the next step is to get the information that has been gathered into the hands of the people for whose benefit it has been collected, in such a form that it can be easily digested and applied to their needs. It is very questionable whether even the information already available reaches those for whom it is really designed. Many of the surveys are published in such a logical, scientific, technical form, that even if they got into the hands of the majority of the parents, they would not be understood. What is wanted is a series of small pamphlets giving the essential facts — pay, promotion, working conditions, demand for labor, continuity of employment, training required, etc., in such a way that can be understood by parents and pupils. Bulletins of the character of those published by the Girls' Trade Education League of Boston are calculated to be of the greatest assistance in making a wise choice.

Wages. The first question asked by both pupils and parents concerning any industry is, What wages does it pay? At the risk of being accused of being mercenary and materialistic it must be admitted that this attitude is praiseworthy and legitimate. The mistake that is made by the average parent is that of looking for immediate returns. One great function of the vocational guidance movement should be to give reliable information upon the financial side of the industry, and to show clearly that the time spent in further training actually pays in dollars and cents, and that the earn-

ings of the girl with a longer training are much greater when the aggregate is taken into account, and spread over a number of years, than those of the untrained girl. Germany is often quoted as the example we should follow in vocational education, and it would be thought that here we should find some definite data showing the relationship between wages and training, but "two well-known educators who have made special search in Germany for such information write that they have never been able to find any."¹

Of course in a country where caste and class lines are sharply drawn, where the vocation of a boy or a girl is largely fixed by social rank, and where the educational system is so stringently regulated by compulsion, it is perhaps not necessary that such information should be given in order to convince the parent, but on this American continent where every parent, every young man or young woman is free to choose, such information must be given if an intelligent choice is to be made.

It need hardly be said that there are other tests of the value of vocational training besides that of money value. The saving of a child from blind-alley and dead-end occupations, protection against unemployment, the development of a happier and more contented industrial life, training for efficient citizenship, and the guidance of youth into lines of work for which they are best fitted are all part of the purpose of vocational guidance, but these are objects towards which the parent and pupil must be educated, and wage-earning capacity is the best method of approach for the average parent and pupil. Let us now take some examples of the kind of information on this subject that is best calculated to

¹ Fourth Annual Report of the Factory Investigating Commission, New York.

appeal to the parents and children and that must be possessed by the one who attempts to give vocational guidance.

"The average annual earnings of women over sixteen years of age in the shirt factories of New York is \$327; the average earnings of over three hundred stenographers employed in the several departments of the city governments of which the pay rolls were examined was \$954. These women secured their appointments because of their special training. Their income for their work is over six hundred dollars a year more than the income of the factory woman referred to. At the age of twenty-five a woman can also secure such an annual income for life by a cash payment of twelve thousand dollars to a life insurance company. This means that a thorough training in English, stenography, and typewriting is worth as much in this market as the annual income of twelve thousand dollars."

"The average annual earnings of 401 nurses in the city service is \$760. The average annual earnings of over twelve thousand women making women's clothing according to the census bureau is \$398.

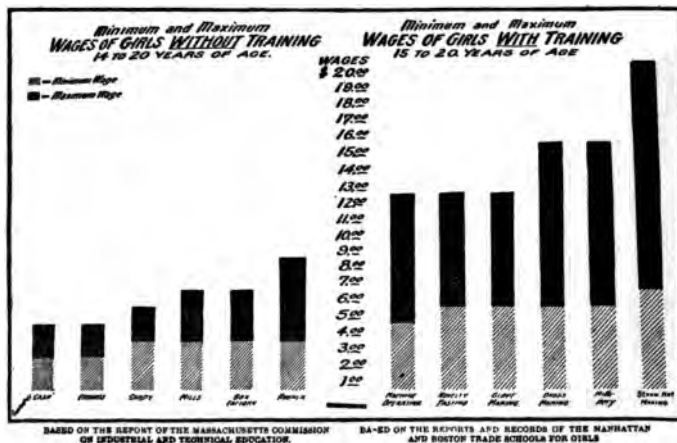
"The four years spent by a girl in high school and the two years in a nurses' training school enable her to earn \$362 a year more than the sewing woman earns. The sewing woman could increase her annual income by \$362 if she would buy an annuity in a life insurance company which would bring her \$362 a year. This annuity would cost her over seven thousand dollars in cash. The special training of the nurse girl must be worth this seven thousand dollars."¹

The following extract is taken from the fifteenth annual report of the New York City Superintendent of Schools. "A

¹ "Choosing a Career for Girls." Circular of Information published by Student Aid Committee of High School Teachers' Association, New York.

girl called Anna B. had drifted about for nearly two years from one unskilled job to another and never earned more than six dollars a week. The family, a large one, was in wretched circumstances and was being assisted by the Charity Organization Society. The girl was sent to the Manhattan Trade School and the small wage she was earning was paid to the family by the student aid fund of the school. The girl completed her course in operating, and in less than a year and a half made at piece work in the busy season as high as thirty-five dollars a week. In twenty-three weeks during the winter she made over six hundred dollars at straw operating, and when the busy season was over she was scarcely out of work a day before she found a position at embroidery operating at a weekly wage of nine dollars. She was changed from a discouraged unskilled worker to a happy, contented, skilled one, rejoicing in the fact that she needed help from none and as she herself said " was the main support of her entire family."

The following chart shows in graphic form the difference in wages with and without training:



Dr. Nathan C. Schaeffer, State Superintendent of Public Instruction for Pennsylvania, works out the result as follows:¹

"You will find the value of a boy's time at school by subtracting the earnings of a life of uneducated labor from those of a life of educated labor. If an uneducated man earns one dollar and a half a day for three hundred days a year he does very well. If he keeps it up for forty years he will earn eighteen thousand dollars. An educated man is not usually paid by the day, but by the month or year; you will admit that one thousand dollars a year is a low average for the earnings of educated labor. For forty years you have forty thousand dollars as the earnings of the educated man. Subtract eighteen thousand dollars from forty thousand dollars and the difference of twenty-two thousand dollars must represent the value of a boy's time spent at school getting an education. The same method of calculation can be applied to the workman who has acquired enough knowledge to master the details of the job ahead, and the resulting increase in wages multiplied into years amounts into a goodly figure."

A word of caution may be uttered here. Care should be taken that wrong inferences be not drawn from information of the above character. The money value of longer attendance at school obtained by comparing the incomes of those who have remained to the end of the high school period or somewhat beyond the grades, by comparing the incomes of persons in different social positions and engaged in wholly different lines of work is apt to lead to erroneous conclusions, but at the present stage of the vocational guidance movement, the above data are the only kind available. It is probably

¹ Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Education, 1913.

quite safe to conclude that prolonged education secures entry into more remunerative employment, and that training the unskilled worker makes it possible for her to leave the unskilled job and enter more attractive and more remunerative employment.

Other information needed. There is, of course, much information other than that concerning wages which it is essential should be known in connection with the industries, and most vocational guidance associations consider the collection of this information one of their chief functions. The Girls' Trade Education League of Boston is carrying on this work with great success. This organization investigates all occupations employing young girls, paying special attention to the conditions under which they work, their wages, the possibility of advancement, whether seasonal or steady, and other features which determine the character of the industry. Success not only depends on the industry but on the girl herself, and this the league recognizes by investigating the qualities of mind and body needed for success in any given occupation, and what general training is required. As this information is gathered, it is made available for those whom it is intended to benefit. The league conducts a vocation office and endeavors to help the girl decide upon the particular work for which she is best fitted. After a girl is placed, she is not lost sight of for at least a year, as it is not always possible to place a girl at once in a position that will be permanently suitable. The bulletins published by the league are models of what such publications should be. Bulletins have been published on "Telephone Operating," "Book-binding," "Stenography and Typewriting," "Nursery Maid," "Dressmaking," "Millinery," "Nursing," and "Salesmanship." Space will not allow of any of these being

reproduced in full,¹ but the following account of the one on bookbinding may be given.

The headings of this bulletin are Nature of the Work; Processes — folding, pasting, gathering, collating, sewing, which are the parts of the forwarding and finishing done by girls; Training required and how secured; Qualifications required in the girl; Positions and Pay; Opportunities for Advancement; Conditions of the Work; Suggestions for a Girl Choosing this Vocation; Report of Massachusetts Board of Health on Sanitary Conditions, etc.; Number of Persons Engaged and List of Reference Books. When all the chief industries in which women are employed are treated in this manner, it will be possible for some judgment to be exercised in deciding what occupation to follow.

Vocational guidance in the high school. Some little work towards vocational guidance may perhaps be done in the elementary schools in grades seven and eight, particularly with those taking differentiated or so-called prevocational courses, but the opportunities here are very limited, owing to the immaturity of the children; but the opportunities offered in the high school, particularly in the last two years, are much greater, though even here it is much to be doubted whether some of the methods in use are really effective. In some places the students are required to fill up a "self-analysis" chart, which is a most difficult proposition for even a mature man or woman to undertake.

A practical experiment in vocational guidance has been carried on in De Kalb Township High School, Illinois, for a number of years. De Kalb² is a manufacturing town of ten

¹ Twenty-fifth Annual Report of Department of Labor, Washington.

² "Vocational Guidance." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 14.

thousand people, with definite agricultural, commercial, and professional elements. In this school it was found that thirty per cent of the students had made no choice of an occupation. Twenty-three per cent of all the students or about fifty per cent of the girls were going into teaching (the Northern Illinois State Normal School is located in the town); ten per cent chose bookkeeping and stenography; eight per cent chose agriculture; about five per cent engineering; then in small groups came the machine trades, music, and a number of scattered occupations. In this survey twenty-four different occupations were represented. A study was next made of the community, and the teacher of manual training went from shop to shop in the endeavor to obtain answers to the questions on the industrial blank that had been drawn up. The commercial teacher did the same with reference to commerce. It was found that in almost all cases better results were obtained from the shop foremen than from the heads of the business. The greatest value of this survey conducted in unostentatious fashion was that it gave the teachers definite knowledge of the town as an industrial community. One of the greatest hindrances to vocational guidance has been found to be the ignorance of the teacher with regard to the world's work. A simple survey of this character would do much to remove this ignorance and would place the teachers in a position to rely upon facts, and not theories, when advising pupils.

The principal of the school planned to meet the upper classes once a week to talk over the industrial conditions relating to the choice of an occupation. The students are told that their decision should rest upon two things: first, knowledge of themselves and their abilities, and second, knowledge of social conditions. The main purpose of these

general talks is said to be to give a "bird's-eye view" of industry. After a general talk the industrial groups are studied in detail, with special reference to the industries of the locality. The instruction is made as concrete as possible, illustrations being taken from actual life, magazines, and newspapers. A scrapbook is made from this material, and it is often found as a result of these talks that a pupil changes his decision, having previously chosen a vocation upon insufficient knowledge. For addresses and talks of this character there is a mine of unused material in the commercial travelers who periodically visit most towns, and who, owing to poor railway connections, often have time on their hands. These travelers are often men who have made good in trade, they know their own work thoroughly, and are in possession of much information concerning the occupations of others.

The second part of the work deals with personal characteristics, or, as it is called, "applied ethics." Such qualities as personality, involving voice, dress, manner, courtesy, tact, efficiency, upright character, loyalty, etc. This is not only vocational guidance, but it is moral guidance also. The possibilities of a plan of this kind, particularly in the small high school, are very great, and it may be found that this plan or a modification of it will be found feasible in the higher grades of the elementary school. Some such plan is necessary there, as it is only when this work is brought right down to the elementary school that it will materially affect the mass of the industrial workers, and benefit that large number who never enter a high school.

In the future science may discover certain psychological tests that will demonstrate the fitness of boys and girls for certain employments, but as yet the chief methods used are character analysis and reliance upon more or less imperfect

knowledge of the industries, though some little has been done in the other direction.¹

Qualifications of the vocational adviser. The only other feature of this work that can be dealt with here is the training of persons so that they will be able to offer real vocational guidance. Advice is cheap, and it is much to be feared that vocational direction has been given without sufficient attention being paid to vital factors. One writer has said: "I wish all vocational guiders were compelled to be situated as I was — that they were forced to bear the expense of their failures to 'guide right' the boys and girls who apply to them for direction. If this condition could obtain universally, I am sure that those who undertake to become 'experts' in this particular calling would be quite careful how they entered upon this profession as a means of livelihood."

When it is remembered that upon the soundness of the counsel given the permanent welfare of the individual largely depends, it will be readily seen that to assume responsibility for such counsel is no light task, and the person who assumes it should have certain definite qualities and training. She should have the necessary information about the industries, experience in dealing with the individual, an attractive personality, and a certain capacity for constructive research. She needs information about the industrial world, and an insight into the character of the people engaged in it. This industrial world is now of so complex a character that no one person can be expected to know all about it; but by a system of grouping, first into the large divisions and then into the major subdivisions, a fairly accurate idea may be obtained of the whole field. "The fundamental elements

¹ "Vocational Guidance." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 14.

involved in the larger groups of occupations and their more important subdivisions the vocational counselor should know as the analytical chemist knows the elements, the families of elements, and the compounds of these elements and families of elements."¹ This problem is of course complicated by the constantly changing character of the industries. New inventions are constantly driving out whole groups of workers. The sewing machine changed the character of the needle trades. The typewriter revolutionized the character of office work, and now the dictaphone is threatening to lessen the demand for stenographers. It is futile to counsel 100 people to enter an industry that can only absorb twenty-five. "A statement in the *Millinery Trade Review*, the official journal of the trade, after quoting census figures showing that in 1890 there was one milliner to 323 women fifteen years of age and over, and in 1900 one in 285, adds that if the manual training schools and technical institutions continue to turn out milliners in the next ten years as they have in the last decade, there will be one milliner to every one hundred women in the not far distant future."

The vocational counselor must also know men and women. She must know how to make records and tests of the individual, and how to interpret them correctly when made. She must have a background of experience of young people in their homes, in their work, and in their social intercourse, and perhaps above all she must have common sense, than which nothing is more uncommon.

In view of the fact that nothing changes more frequently than vocational conditions, the counselor must be capable of making and directing such research work and surveys

¹ "Vocational Guidance." United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin, 1914, No. 4.

as will keep her in closest touch with current movements. She should also be able to devise new methods of inquiry and new methods of using the information obtained and bringing it to the people for whom it is intended.

Looked at from all points of view, the conclusion is inevitable that the vocational counselor cannot do her work without professional training. In the past the vocational guidance movement has followed to some extent the vocational education movement, in that schools were established before teachers were trained. But now it is being admitted that training for this profession is necessary, and college courses are being offered for vocational counselors. Such a course is provided by the Boston Union in coöperation with the vocational bureau, and the Tuck School of Finance and Business Administration at Dartmouth is offering a course for department managers to consider the problems arising in connection with the examination, employment, and training of a staff of employees.

The vocational counselor, properly trained, will be able to bridge the gap between the industrial world and the schools, and thus bring about a readjustment of social and economic conditions which will do much towards giving us a happy, efficient, productive, and contented people.

Conclusion. The above treatment of the subject has concerned itself, designedly, with the vocational guidance of girls into industrial and commercial pursuits or the so-called non-professional occupations. In so doing it has followed the path the movement itself has almost exclusively taken. Herein lies a real danger. In so restricting itself there is a possibility that many girls may be almost forced to enter industrial and commercial fields, who have the aptitude and *capacity* for other kinds of work, and who, if wisely guided,

might enter them with individual profit, and to the benefit of society in general. There may be need for many of these girls to enter some occupation which will offer immediate results in the way of financial returns, but this occupation should be regarded as temporary, to be continued only until such time as the opportunity presents itself to enter the occupation for which the girl has the greater aptitude and capacity.

It should always be remembered that vocational guidance must have as its first and perhaps only aim the welfare of the individual and through the individual the well-being of the community. The movement is intended to benefit industry only so far as the success of the individual reacts upon the industry in which she is engaged. There are many difficulties — social, educational, economic, and psychological — in the way of the evolution of wholly satisfactory vocational guidance, and there are not to be found at present many striking examples of complete success, but the important bearing the subject has upon the welfare of the commonwealth justifies the further investigation and experimentation necessary to evolve completely successful plans for bringing about that ideal state of affairs where every individual shall find herself in the occupation in which she can best earn a living for herself and perform the greatest service to society.

It is to be hoped that in the future much more attention will be given to this important subject of the vocational education of girls and women than has been devoted to it in the past. The field is broad and the opportunities are many. No attempt has been made to exhaust the subject, and many phases of it have scarcely been touched upon, but the hope

is expressed that what has been said may direct more attention to the question and that the examples cited will point the way to further efforts to materially improve the condition of the industrial worker, whether she be employed in the home, the store, the office, or the factory.

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(See also Industrial Occupations and Training)

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